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THE DIVINE KINGDOM WITHIN THE EMPIRE

To my fellow students (1919-1921) at L.S.E.

Σοφὸς, σοφὸς σύ, πλὴν ἃ δεῖ σ' εἶναι σοφόν
Sophocles

The Divine Kingdom within the Empire

SOME MODERN ADMINISTRATIVE, IMPERATIVE, AND ESCHATOLOGICAL TENDENCIES

BY

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PREFACE

THE present volume is the result of the desire of a student of Divinity and Political Science to make some contribution to the administrative problem of the Church which, under our Industrial Democracy, is a part of our Social and Imperial Heritage.

The Church of England must take note of modern conditions.

I. Of the tendency to conurbanisation at home.

II. Of the tendencies within the British League, that is the Empire of Settlement or Alliance, as distinguished from the Empire of Rule or Trust.

III. Of the out-working of the eschatological ideas of the Founder of Christianity and the chief writers of the New Testament in their operation upon our imperfect civilisation.

It was the intention of the writer to deal also with the financial problems of the Church from the standpoint of an economist engaged upon Public Finance. But this part of his work has had to be deferred.

If the present volume proves of sufficient interest, a second, confining itself to the principles of Public Finance in relation to the Church, will be attempted.

It is necessary at once that I should make full and grateful acknowledgement to the Professors and Readers of the London School of Economics for the teaching received during a considerable period. Yet the problem with which this book concerns itself, being a religious problem, is one with which they cannot directly deal. Nevertheless as Philosophy is directed to the whole of experience, it is a scientific procedure to borrow from the principles of Political Science anything that will illuminate another branch of knowledge.

I wish to thank Mr. Headicar, the Librarian of the School, for a kindly and considerable personal service.

ROWLAND WORMELL.

Christchurch Vicarage,
Dartford.

"Those who are bondslaves under the law of inertia in spite of their constant talk of progress, and those wise men who refuse to move away from what they have already got, those self-appointed leaders of the century and experts in all the world's wisdom will call us fanatics, because we believe in a living Power within all events and a living goal for all development."

BERNARD DUHM.

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PART I

Administrative

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"Your IF is the only peacemaker."

Shakespeare.

I

INTRODUCTORY

When King John at Runnymede in 1215 gave the royal assent to the Magna Carta it was agreed that the Anglican Church should be free. "Ecclesia Anglicana libera sit." We find then enshrined in the Charter of English Liberties the recognition :

(I) That there was a distinctly English Church.[1]

(II) That this Church should be, within the State, free to be administered and to minister in such a way as to give adequate and continuous spiritual service to the people. Whether the Charter had in view interference of the King or of the Pope is not important. The point is that the Church was not to be hindered in her operations in the service of the people. This also was the theory of the Reformation which confessedly aimed at restoring to the people the sacramental life that had been withheld from them.

In recent times we find that it has been widely

[1] Bishop Stubbs puts this excellently :—

"The Anglo-Saxon Church was to an extraordinary degree a national church. The interference of foreign churches was scarcely, if at all, felt. There are but few traces of Roman influence from the days of Theodore to the Norman Conquest. The Church and the nation were closely knit together. The effects of the union were felt in the years that followed, when the English clergy supplied the basis of strength in the struggle against the tyranny of the Norman Kings."

felt, both among the clergy and the laity of the English Church, as well as roundly stated in the press and on the platform, in parliament and in books, that from the beginning of the nineteenth century onwards the Church had functioned as the State Church with increasing difficulty. This has been, in our opinion, rather hastily ascribed to the inherent faults of the Church. But there have been other concomitants in operation external to the Church. The results are not fully chargeable to the Church. When the genius of Englishmen produced that "British Techinique" [1] which, combined with French ideas, blew out the tariffs on English trade the results were far-reaching. English genius could not be holden. England changed her economic basis from agriculture to world-wide trade. As a result the State rapidly outgrew the Church, and Parliament became more concerned with other matters, being highly congested with other business. This was not the fault of the Church; it was not the fault of the State; it was one of the great revolutions involving both Church and State. The Church has less easily adapted itself to modern civilisation than other institutions in the State, and fearing to adjust herself to that acquisitive civilisation which arose after 1760, she has not made any real, organised, large-scale effort to adjust civilisation to the vision of the New Jerusalem which her saints and seers had seen. It is difficult for her to adjust civilisa-

[1] Professor Knowles, *Industrial and Commercial Revolution in 19th century.*

tion to her vision simply because she is a part of it.[1] But that is her task, both to serve the State and to save it. That she has been criticised to the degree of abuse[2] should not greatly distract her. For civilisation itself has been attacked. The cement in its walls is said to be dropping out. Parliamentary democratic institutions themselves, which were presumed to be permanent and divinely balanced in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, have been violently assailed from the side of advanced opinion as "an organised hypocrisy," and as an organised misrepresentation called Representative Government. *The Morning Post* defends to-day the institutions it attacked ten years ago.

Yet as a part of that social heritage, which is assailed on many sides, the state church is involved. Japan sent missions to Europe to create an efficient army, navy, and state church. The

[1] Professor Graham Wallas, "*Our Social Heritage.*"

[2] A typical article is Rev. B. G. Bourchier's "The Bankruptcy of the Church," in the *Evening News* August 4, 1922, and Rev. S. M. Berry in the *Westminister Gazette*, Friday, August 4th, 1922 on less bombastic and more intelligent lines.

Professor Dicey's *Law and Opinion in England*, notes a certain inferiority in clerical preaching or less passion in clerical ideals.

Professor Graham Wallas in *Our Social Heritage* has a Chapter on The Church in which he makes definite charges that the Church everywhere did not seek to establish peace during the war and has not done so since. He also prognosticates that under disestablishment the high church clergy will be a disruptive and reactionary body pivotted upon the monarchy.

"The evidence seems to point unmistakably to an inverse statistical correlation between membership of those churches and an attitude of protest against national wrongdoing." p. 255.

result of those was the adoption of German army organisation, a navy organised on the British tradition—and a report upon Christianity as the state religion of England which still left the Japanese Government wedded to Shintoism by preference.

At home, books like G. D. H. Cole's *Guild Socialism Restated*, the Webbs' *Our Future Socialist Commonwealth*, Professor Graham Wallas' *Our Social Heritage*, and Mr. R. H. Tawney's *An Acquisitive Society* are all analyses which in the ultimate are a challenge to the State Church. For the imperfections they reveal should not be present in a State wherein the Christian Church has been powerful for fifteen hundred years.[1] From India comes the greatest challenge of all in the shape of a definite assertion of her own spiritual superiority,[2] an assertion based upon the alleged domineering and dividing, warlike and acquisitive, characteristics of our rule. We are faced here with a challenge not only to England as a State, but to western civilisation as a desirable "bundle of institutions." It is a challenge of the ethical, of the legal, and of the economic sanctions upon which it rests.

When Mr. J. M. Keynes declares that "never in the lifetime of men now living has the universal element in the soul of man burnt so dimly,"[3]

[1] "If," says Graham Wallas, "it be argued that after 2000 years Christianity has not been tried then it must be said to have failed."

[2] Rabindra Nath Tagore's articles etc.

[3] *The Economic consequences of the Peace*. p. 279. J. M. Keynes.

and when Professor Graham Wallas asserts that the church's efforts for peace have been in "inverse statistical correlation,"[1] both these great thinkers are writing down as a failure the Church which was the outcome, as Harnack showed in his *The Mission and Expansion of Christianity*,[2] of a mission which was inherently as well as in aim, utterly universalistic. As we write it is obvious that the journalism of to-day, the opinion-making machine of the multitude that cannot be reached by the human voice, either by preaching in the pulpit or speaking from the platform, or by assembling in the market place, is still occupied with an anti-religious propaganda. On June 14th, 1922[3] Earl Russell opines "that revealed religion is on the decline." In the same journal the Archbishop of York is praised for confessing that all is not well with the Church of England and that the foundations of Faith are being shaken,[4] while at the same time

[1] *Our Social Heritage*. Graham Wallas. p. 255.

[2] Harnack's *The Mission and Expansion of Christianity*. Vol. I. 511.

"This church exerted a missionary influence in virtue of her very existence, inasmuch as she came forward to represent the consummation of all previous movements in the history of religion. And to this church the human race round the basin of the Mediterranean belonged without exception about the year 300 in so far as the religion, morals, and higher attainments of these nations were of any consequence." *Cf.* also page 312. "Christianity revealed to the world a special kind of syncretism, namely the syncretism of a universal religion."

[3] *John Bull*. Reconstituted with a new Policy.

[4] It is only fair, however, to recognise that there have been some remarkable articles in the Press giving closer and more earnest attention to religion than has been the case for many a year: *e.g.*, Mr. James Douglas in *The Daily Express*. "England must find time for God."; "The Boredom of Sin"; Articles by "The Gentleman with a Duster" in the *Weekly Dispatch*.

we have the séance turning the tables not on the Church as such, but for the entertainment of those the Church has not satisfied.

Amid all this it does seem clear that the Church will be forced to organise herself and decide for herself in what direction and in what manner she proposes to justify her existence.

She has already moved in the matter. The Mission of Repentance and Hope was a large scale effort ; the Lambeth Conference made a magnificent appeal for long range Christian co-operation ; and the definite movement, consummated on December 23rd, 1919, by the Royal assent to the Church of England (Assemblies Act) was a reaching out after a larger life and liberty.

This Act reverted to the spirit of the Magna Carta, recognising the distinctive character of the State Church of England and being designed to enable that Church to function.

Thus it may be said that the aim of the enabling Act was in harmony with the English national spirit and that :

(I) It tried to persevere the distinctive features of the Church of England.

(II) It aspired to preserve the relation of the Church to the State,

(III) But that it recognised also the need to loosen the administration of the Church from that Parliamentary procedure with which it had got entangled. Parliament had become so congested with the business of the

governance of England and her empire that it was necessary to devolute Church affairs.

It was felt that in this way alone could disestablishment[1] be avoided, administrative machinery set up, and criticism disarmed.

Thus in 1919 the Ethos of the political truce begotten by the national peril was cleverly taken advantage of—as it has been in the case of woman's suffrage and, though with less success, in the case of the Reform of the Second Chamber—and the Enabling Bill became an Act of Parliament.

The constitutional position of the Church of England rested upon certain acts intended to establish it for ever. This intention is seen in the Act of Union with Ireland (1800. 39 and 40 Geo. III, c. 67).

At law the establishment rested upon the legislative enactments of the reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, and Elizabeth. Changes however have been made by the Irish Church Act, 1869, by the Welsh Disestablishment Act, 1920,[2] and by the Enabling Act, 1919.

[1] There were and there are however many reformers, notably Bishop Gore, who would welcome disestablishment, not because at present Christianity is an " endowed creed " but because of their belief that the church will be enchained so long as she is established by law. The whole subject of the currents making for the disestablishment of the Church and countercurrents expressing the strength of opinion in favour of the establishment are dealt with in Professor Dicey's magnificent chapter in *Law and Opinion in England in the 19th century*. Chapter X. pp. 311–360.

The utilitarian device of James Mill is also accurately estimated as a " Transformation of the Church of England into a National Mechanic's Institute."

[2] Welsh Church Act 1914 passed under the provisions of the

A bird's eye view of the situation to-day and a "listening in" to the murmurs broadcasted by modern society suggests not only a modification of new features superimposed on the old constitution, not only an analysis of the machinery, not only a new assembling of its parts, but also a prognostication of the administrative development of the Church following as it must upon the evolution of a modern, industrialised, and con-urbanised State.

Taking the problem of the administration of London as our main type, treating it as a single problem, we shall be led to see that London's problem is in reality the same as that of the future Local Government of the whole of England. A country rises before us empatterned with star-fish urban areas which touch each other at the extremities of the radiations and which enclose rural districts between these triangles like the lungs of a great city. "Aggregation for segregation" will produce the large scale supplies of standardised systematised electrical, water, educational, and similar services. The organisation of the Church will have to follow the same scheme and dioceses constructed accordingly if the supply of spiritual ministration is to be on a scale suitable to the modern needs of the eldest child of the industrial revolution.

The problem of England's local government will have to be tackled as a whole, and it will follow that the problem of the English Church,

Parliament Act 1911, postponed by the suspensory Act 1914, finally ratified by Royal Assent March 31st, 1920.

if the relationship between Church and State[1] is to be maintained effectively, must also be approached in the same way. For instance, in so far as this outward devolution takes place so to that degree will be the need of central experience and direction. This is proving even now to be the case in State Finance, the central authority having to supplement local rating; so also with the problem of Church Finance; so also in dealing with the districts that need to be opened up for Church work; the solution to the problem must lie in some system of *central supplementary Church Finance* which views the whole as a single problem and not as a fragmentary at-random matter.[2] It should be stated forthwith that whether the Church is established or disestablished, if it is to do its work on an adequate scale, it will be forced to organise itself for effective ministration. That is we shall not escape from our task by disestablishing the Church. It will be more difficult, that is all.

The magnitude of this constructive work will tax the fortitude and demand the co-operation of all Church people as never before.

Doubtless we shall fall into two main parties in the Church. On the one hand those who are progressive and dynamical in mind, and who, having envisaged the real dimensions of the mountain facing them will in faith and determination attempt to scale it. This school will urge that an

[1] The Theory of Church and State is that each is a different aspect of the same thing.

[2] A system, of equalisation by grants-in-aid must arise.

adequate and continuous supply of ministrative service posits an administration which must move "as the moon moves loving the earth." These will point out that the monarchy has adapted itself to the changing needs of democractic institutions more easily than any other national institution with the result that it has become stronger to-day, both inside England and outside in the Empire, than at any time for two hundred years. It has exchanged a doubtful and ineffective authority for a positive and beneficent influence.

On the other hand the more fearful, as well as those temperamentally more conservative, will see dangers in the very efficiency aimed at and will assure us that our strength is to sit still and not to draw upon ourselves the fiery criticism of those elements in the nation whose interest is not in a strong national Church. We shall have a broad division of libertarian and authoritarian churchmen, the one will stand for a dynamical while the other will demand a statical ideal. The resultant of these forces will doubtless set the decisive direction of the movement of the Church of England during the next half century.

In view of this prognostication it will be of service to make several observations.

(I) The position of the King rests on an Act of Parliament, namely the Act of Settlement, 1700. Entitled by the Pope "Defender of the Faith," the interpretation of that title is to be found in the terms of the Act, namely

that he is Defender of the *Protestant*[1] Faith as set forth in the Creeds, Prayer Book, Formalities, and Articles of the Church of England. But even among the orthodox there is elasticity of interpretation. The throne rests on an Act of Parliament; so does the King's position as head of the Church. He reigns by parliamentary right and not by divine right. He can be dethroned by the same power that set him up, and relieved of ecclesiastical obligations by the same authority that interpreted for him and his successors what those obligations should be. There is reason to believe that both the Royal family and the people of England are far more inclined towards a less definitely Protestant interpretation of the Act of Settlement than, say, the mid-Victorians were. The popular Princess Mary writes outspokenly of "Our Lady,"[2] and it is at least a speculation of great interest as to what would happen if the most popular Prince who ever served in the high calling of heir to the British throne,

[1] Ridges *Constitutional Law*. p. 146. "Under this Act the Crown was settled upon the heirs of the body of Sophia. This settlement was made subject to the provisions (1) That no papist should succeed, (2) that the declaration against transubstantiation in the form provided by Statute in 1677 (30 Car. 2 Stat. 2 c. 1) should be made on the first day of the meeting of the first Parliament or at the Coronation, (3) That the Coronation oath in the form provided by the Act for Establishing the Coronation Oath 1688 (1 Will. and Mary, Sess. 1 c. 1 s. 3) should be taken at the Coronation, (4) that the person who succeeds should join in communion with the Church of England.)

[2] A letter of thanks for a wedding present quoted in *The Church Times*.

appealed to the people on an affair of the heart. As the text books say, our Constitution is "flexible" and rests on the will of the people. This will might even override the Privy Council[1] to which after the age of twenty-five the heir to the throne could appeal.

(II) The problem of consistency and discretionary power has been in the case of the King solved by the deliberate will of the people, acting through Parliament, which has left an elastic margin of privilege or prerogative in the hands of the King. This can be contracted or elongated, it is not rigidly attached but flexibly affixed to the other constitutional institutions of England. It could quite easily be altogether done away or vastly strengthened and supplemented.

The parallel is complete between the position of Head of the Church and the situation of the Church of England of which he is the head.

The State Church also rests on certain Acts of Parliament, which as we have seen have by subsequent legislation only served to emphasise where the sovereign power resides. The theoretical omnipotence of the omnicompetent Parliament has

[1] By the Royal Marriages Act 1772 (12 Geo. III c. 11) no descendant of George II (except the issue of princesses married into foreign families) may contract a valid marriage without the consent of the King or Queen given under the Great Seal. But at the age of 25 they may marry without such consent after twelve month's notice to the Privy Council, if in the mean time the two Houses of Parliament have not disapproved of such marriage.

been demonstrated thereby. It is perfectly clear that, if that sovereign power were exerted to make the State Church solemnise marriages according to Acts of Parliament, the Church would either have to agree to do so or lay itself open to attack through the Law Courts which would take cognisance of the offence against the Act requiring this or that to be done. The issue would not be between establishment or disestablishment, for in legal theory there can be no doubt that Parliament could insist.[1] Parliament could itself determine that the Church should not be disestablished. Parliament is legally supreme and could insist upon an established Church without the consent of the Church just as it could insist upon the constitutional monarchy though the King wished to abdicate. Here we are upon one of the interesting points of sovereignty which reveals that in reality, though perhaps not in theory, all earthly sovereignty is limited and paradoxical.

Here also we are faced with one of the interesting features of modern political method. If two diametrically opposed points of view are pressed ruthlessly to their logical conclusions the victory of one posits the annihilation of the other. The method is to take each side separately. Analyse it into parts. Compare the parts on either side. It will be seen that many unessentials cancel out,

[1] The clergy are not represented in Parliament. They cannot interfere and hence the movement to free them. Herewith we append notes on the proceedings of the meeting called to consider the question.

MEETING AT CHURCH HOUSE, WESTMINSTER,

23RD JANUARY, 1919, 4.15 P.M.

TO CONSIDER THE QUESTION OF CLERGY IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

(*Notes taken down in shorthand by the writer.*)

Rev. W. P. Hanks said *Prominent Nonconformists* were in favour.—Dr. Forte Newton, Dr. Jowett, Sidney Webb, M.P., Labour Party. *Prominent Churchmen*—Deans of Worcester and Lincoln.

THE BISHOP OF KENSINGTON IN THE CHAIR. The assumption that any man in Holy Orders was not competent to sit in the House of Commons was made by a large number of people. The assumption rested on the belief that the clergy are debarred because they are *state paid officials*; others assumed that the agitation was a clumsy device to solve :—

(1) The shortage of the pay of the clergy by obtaining for our underpaid brothers £400 a year.

(2) The shortage in work—that the clergy had not enough to do and are, therefore, looking for a job.

Because these assumptions were false, it was a good thing to dispel the error.

But apart from that, this agitation is part of a great movement, viz., to assert that men and women of equal worth—all people of equal worth—should have equal rights in the State. The clergy are a class who are not on an equality with their fellow citizens. The clergy cannot exercise their citizen right and the State is a great loser by this fact. The clergy are the only class debarred by Act of Parliament of 1801; by that Act, in virtue of their ordination, they are liable to have to pay £500 per diem if they sit in the House of Commons. Yet in the Parliament of olden times their presence used to be essential to the right procedure of Parliament. In the time of Edward II, the clergy began to show reluctance to sit in Parliament, and the reason why is not far to seek. The reason was that they sat in convocation and were taxed by convocation as well as by Parliament, *i.e.*, twice over—but the clergy always stood up for taxation and representation going together.

It was enacted in "The Clerical Disabilities Act" that they might sit in Parliament only if they abrogated their Orders. This was based on the plea that the clergy were adequately represented by convocation and in the House of Lords. But in no sense does convocation represent the clergy. This is true of both the Upper House and also Lower.

Suffragans have absolutely no voice. Bishops in the House of Lords do not represent the feelings of the clergy, and the underlying assumption does not hold.

I object to the doctrine that the clergy are a separate class; it is a false assumption. The clergy are not a separate class. The man in the street identifies the Church with those who are supposed to be a separate class; thus a difference has come about between religion and politics. This is a hindrance to the spiritual life of the people. We hear the economic and political argument about the great questions which agitate the country, but not what is the mind of God or of Christ about them. I would further say that there never was a time when we wanted a new spirit more than to-day.

A favourite objection one met with was "We don't want political parsons." But surely we require, in face of the problems before us, that there should be a voice of the clergy in the one place where it can be effectually heard. Again, to debar them from taking part in municipal life is, from the point of view of the State, a calamity. This also is an absolutely pressing matter at the present time.

The First Resolution:

That it is desirable that all Parliamentary disabilities should be removed.

In proposing this resolution, the next speaker took the legal and constitutional standpoint. The Bishop does not represent the clergy really at law. The lower clergy are not represented in the House of Lords. Mr. Bonar Law was wrong the other day in allowing that they were represented properly in "Another place." Therefore, how is there a statutory bar? How did it arise? The question had been raised in 1881 when it was brought before Parliament and the point was lost by nine votes only in the House of Commons.

In the absence of Canon T. A. Lacey, Mr. Stuart Hedlam seconded the resolution. He did not think it would mean a large number of clergy leaving their parishes where they had quite enough to do and could not be spared, but he objected to the Clergy being debarred. He simply wished to protest against the State saying that the clergy are too holy or too silly to sit in the House of Commons. He hoped, during this agitation, this would be the line the clergy would take.

The Second Resolution:—

That the Prime Minister be asked to receive a deputation that we might ascertain what is the best means to facilitate the removal of the disabilities of the clergy.

This resolution was proposed by Lieut. Colonel H. Burgoyne, M.P., who said: It had been demonstrated and admitted that

during the war the clergy had been of great value in the homes of the people. If they were of such value in the home, how much more in the House where knowledge of the people is of so much importance and so much required in dealing with the pressing problems of the immediate future. But he based the claim of the clergy on another foundation; a basis of equity. It was always being said that the place of the clergy was in their parishes just as it was said that the place of women was in their homes. Where was that argument in the case of the women now? No! there was a type of man among the clergy who was very much wanted in Parliament. If you take a deputation to the Prime Minister, he will hate it, but you mustn't mind; you must take the deputation. If you take a deputation to Lord Robert Cecil, who is a good man to have on your side, he will receive you sympathetically and forget; but you must not be discouraged. Get the deputation to the Prime Minister; that is the next step; that is what I advise.

Rev. Walter J. Carey, R.N., seconded: He said he would be as it was expected of him, bright, breezy and brief. It is not the point, and here he ventured to differ from the Bishop of Kensington, not in principle but in the degree of emphasis he had laid on the undoubted good the clergy would do in Parliament. It was our right as citizens and freemen that we demanded. We had a political right to do harm if our people elected us and sent us to Parliament to do it as their representatives; that was the point. We asked not for any favour but for our full citizen rights—for the removal of a cruel and unjust wrong under which we were oppressed. What we had to do was to show there was a demand for its immediate removal, and our plea should be made on one ground only—that of our right to democratic citizenship among our brothers and equals in a democratic country.

The Third Resolution:—

That a committee of twelve should be appointed to carry these propositions into effect.

This was proposed by Canon the Hon. J. G. Adderley, Rector of St. Paul's, Covent Garden, who emphasised the point made by Carey that "If our people want us to go to Parliament to represent them, we ought to go." It was seconded by Rev. W. P. Hanks, C.F., and it was agreed to keep the present committee with power to add to their number.

These efforts were eventually ruined by a careless technical blunder the speaker remarking upon the lack of care being an index of the lukewarm demand.

THE CLERGY IN PARLIAMENT.

It is interesting to notice how it came about that the clergy are taxed but may not sit in Parliament. The minor clergy attended Parliament reluctantly and preferred to meet in their own convocations. Eventually they ceased to attend Parliament at all, but in 1605 they suddenly sought to resuscitate their ancient right to attend. In 1664 an arrangement was come to between Lord Clarendon and Archbishop Sheldon whereby the clergy should be taxed in the same way as the laity (for hitherto they had taxed themselves) and the clergy, instead of attending Parliament, were given what they had not before, namely, the right to vote for knights of the shire as freeholders. Even now the writs summoning the bishops to Parliament contain the "praemunientes" clause which bids them bring representatives of the minor clergy. That the minor clergy are still ineligible for Parliament is a matter of accident. When the bill was brought in it had every chance to get through as it was next before the Plumage Bill which was strongly backed. It was turned down for a technical omission. It was not printed and the speaker ruled it out. The writer has never seen Colonel Burgoyne's explanation.

leaving a small field upon which to concentrate. These are balanced by the spirit of intelligent compromise and not by the abject surrender of either party. What this comes to is that each side agrees to leave with the other a certain margin of prerogative and of discretionary power. And, unless this be so, obviously no solution is possible. But between Church and State such an "impasse" could be avoided and probably would be by Parliament's setting up an alternative means for fulfilling its directions—*e.g.*, in the matter of divorce and remarriage—while at the same time deliberately leaving some privilege and prerogative power of discretion in the matter of ministrative

acts of the Church[1] just as it has done in that of the exercise of prerogative of Kingly Acts within the competency of the Crown.

Thus though the clergy are subject to the reign of law and are answerable to the civil courts for crime against statutory or common law, yet there is a discretionary power left within the Church which can be used to arraign them before ecclesiastical courts also for offences which are not crimes, in the sense that the courts of the land will take no cognisance of them.[2] And on a *point of fact* the Privy Council will uphold the Consistory Courts of the Church.

Within this margin of ecclesiastical prerogative and privilege left to the Church is the same kind of power as is left to any other non-sovereign law-making body, whether a colony whose constitution rests upon an act like the British North American Act, 1867, or Australian Commonwealth Act of 1900, or whether a local authority or railway company that can, within the meaning of the act, make bye-laws not repugnant to the law of the land.

It is this prerogative power left by the will of Parliament to the Church which has suddenly been expanded almost without limit, and with

[1] Mr. E. S. Corwin has shown in a most interesting book how a similar problem was solved in America by leaving the President and Congress to proceed unchallenged within their own spheres and to fill up the spaces not covered by the Constitution by consultative action and by mutual forbearance when any threatened deadlock arises.

[2] The Wakeford Case.

little check but the proviso of Parliamentary and Royal assent. The Consolidated Bills arising out of provisional orders, which orders are a method of filling up lacunae in the processes of legislation, of saving time, of relieving congestion, and of avoiding expense, are passed without much opposition in Parliament, though we believe that any member has the power to oppose such bills on the ground of public interest.[1] The capacities of this procedure are obvious when we recall that the Insurance Act would have been a dead letter but for the liberal use of Provisional Orders. So also Church Bills may be consolidated and passed with the same facility. Thus there is a considerable prospect of the new machinery of the Church functioning. If it breaks down it will be because of its own faulty casting and not from the old trouble of parliamentary congestion.

We need therefore to examine the machinery to see whether it can bear the strain and carry the load that will be put upon it. Now it is the thesis of the sequel that there are in the castings of this machinery faults of such a kind, that until they are removed, there is little or no hope that it can fulfil its task. What are they ?

In order to reveal the faults in the casting of this administrative machinery it is not necessary to examine every rivet. We do not wish to use a magnifying glass but rather to look at those parts where imperfections are such as to strike the naked eye.

[1] Sir Frederick Banbury always does on principle.

The authors of the present scheme were quite right in making the origination lie in the parish meetings, but they were, we believe, wrong in not going further along that line.

For the great crack in the machine is the undemocratic and un-British system of *indirect election*. That turned what might have been a good system into a Soviet system with all the consequent faults of that system. In Russia this led inevitably to a tyrannous attenuated all-Russian Soviet. In the Church of England it has already led to an anaemic assembly. In fact both the parish meetings and the assembly need iron jelloids already, while the Councils have in some places become clotted. *Far too much emphasis has been laid upon the Church Councils.* The layman's hope lies in the parish meetings and the priest cannot do his duty if he is to be forever trying to please councillors.

A good churchman has, like a good citizen, various interests :—

I. Parochial.—These are short-ranged duties to his neighbour.

II. Diocesan—These are of longer range and are duties to his neighbourhood.

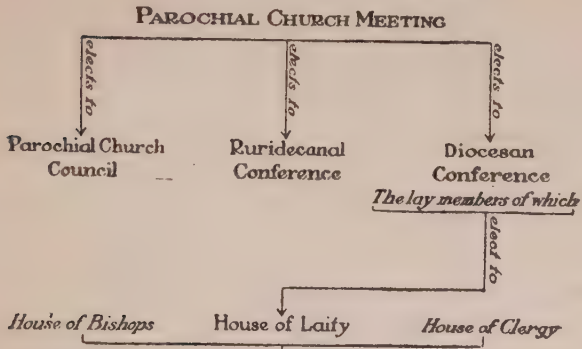
III. Central.—These are duties towards the Church in general, and the English Church and nation in particular. These are of longer range and larger import still.

The ASSEMBLIES of the CHURCH.

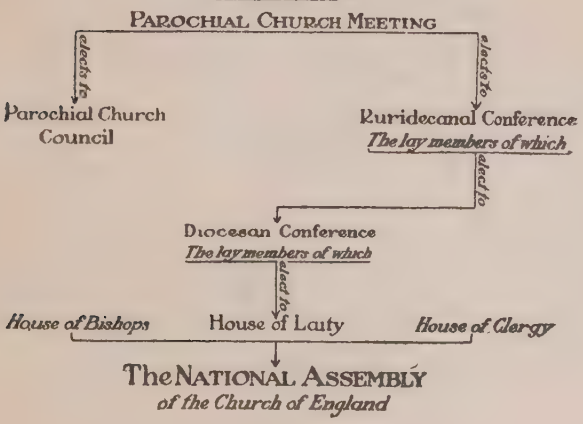
The Electoral Schemes.

SCHEME I

(This will probably be the Normal Scheme except in large and populous Dioceses.)



SCHEME II



And unless these interests are to be unrepresented he must be directly represented in the Councils which arise from these three aspects of his Christian life. Out of each interest must arise a Council in direct contact with that interest.

Thus corresponding to his parochial interest should be the deliberative and executive council of his parish meeting, arising out of it and responsible to it.

Arising out of his duty to his neighbourhood should be a Council of such a kind that he can sit in it and elect directly representatives both to the Diocesan Conference which acts for his neighbourhood; and to the Central Assembly of the Church which acts for the Church as a whole. That is the present Ruridecanal Conference,[1] except as an executive, should drop out and in its place a Union of Parish Meetings should sit under the Rural Dean. This body should elect directly to the Diocesan Conference and to the Church Assembly and thus the mind of the living Church would be in direct relationship to the Diocesan Conference and to the Church Assembly. The remedy then lies in direct election and in constituting a new body—a Union of Parish Meetings,[2] covering the Ruridecanal area and in joint session under the Rural Dean.

[1] The R.D. Conference might be made the executive of the Parish Meetings.

[2] The size of the Assembly could be determined by the size of the electing area. If the R.D. area were made large enough this would reduce the number of the present R.D. areas, thus reducing the number of members in the House of Laity. If these R.D. areas were very large, like counties, then the difficulties

This would electrify the parish meetings, galvanise the whole district of parishes, and stimulate the assembly, provided that the current could flow backwards and forwards.

The necessary instruments, tried with success in other connections elsewhere, are indeed well-known and to hand.[1]—

(1) The Central Assembly should be armed with the power of " The Referendum " so as to be able to refer downwards any difficult question to the joint sessions of the Parish Meetings.

(2) The Union of Parish Meetings should be armed with " The Initiative " to send up demands for the immediate consideration of any questions of passionate interest and to insist upon a full consideration and report of them. If they are not acceptable to the Assembly then reasoned and amended suggestions should be sent back. This power should also lie in the Unions to ginger up the Diocesan Conference.

(3) In the case of refusal of the Assembly to give due heed to the initiated proposals, there should be no right of the Unions to go straight through to the crown, but the power of " The Recall " should enable them to call

of getting to the place of assembly would have to be overcome by ballotting in the Parishes. But on capital matters like the Initiative and Recall these meetings would have to assemble together.

[1] Australia, Switzerland, Oregon, Germany (New Constitution).

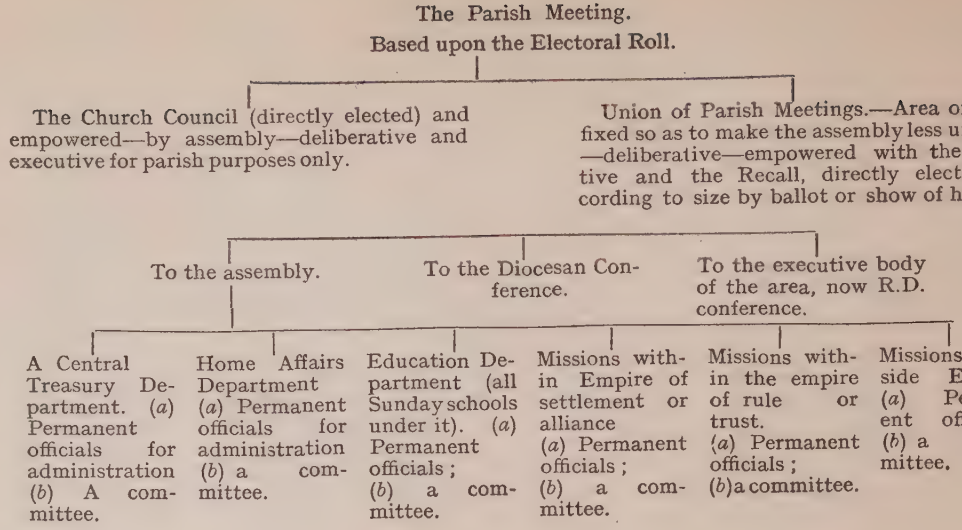
back temporarily or permanently their elected members of the Assembly. Thus if the Assembly automatically melted away to a certain proportion of its original number of representatives, it would cease to represent the Church, and would then have to submit to a new election. This would act in the same way as a catastrophic government defeat, which cannot be registered in the case of a church assembly that has no parties and no cabinet.

And further unless the Assembly is to sit without making a serious effort to administer centrally the affairs of the Church at large, it must either:—

(1) Sit more frequently and in longer session,

(2) Or make its committee system both deliberative and executive, keeping these committees in continuous consultative contact over large sections of the year. At present no one can take the Assembly to represent a serious and honest attempt to deal with the Church of England's great problem of administration as a large-scale national service.

And yet, confronted by a shaking society, what is the kind of assembly that is intended to avoid the necessity of Disestablishment and Disendowment? How is it supposed to offer us an effective technique of co-operation between the clergy and laity? So far it has brought something of disappointment if not exasperation to the laity, and something of disillusionment if not amazement



Every committee should be under the direction of a single member of the assembly responsible to it. He should be chairman and should have the help of co-opted specialists in the work dealt with.

to the parochial clergy. Why? Because it is an organised hypocrisy. It is a sham—a pseudo-democratic reality. Olympic; most dignified in session; shut off by the fireproof screen of diocesan and ruridecanal conferences from all parochial enthusiasm; innocent of the guilt of having any working people in it and guilty of the innocence of having in it the most aristocratic and professional people in the land;[1]—this strange body of earnest gentlemen contemplate for fifteen days a year the business of that "pure and reformed part of Christ's Church established in this realm."

And yet paradoxical as it may appear on the surface, these same gentlemen stand for the one idea that can save the National Church. They are "The National Assembly." The one thing that is now clear is that the solution to the Church's problem lies in taking a view of it *as a whole*.[2] Both in pure finance and administrative organisation the subject must be treated as a whole. This requires a highly trained body of central officers, both clerical and lay, and an aeroplane view of the Church from Northumberland to Cornwall. The problem of the Church of England during the next decade is to create a powerful central administration. We can then decentralise and devolute with an intelligent policy which embraces within its ambit the whole Church.

[1] They are intellectually far superior to either House of Parliament, in fact a brilliant gathering of the aristocracy of intellect.

[2] Rev. S. M. Berry "The Voice of the church must reach the whole situation if it is to touch the public conscience at all."—*Westminster Gazette*, August 4th, 1922.

We have, it would appear, hit upon the clue for which we are seeking. Just as in the affairs of a state we are forced to seek a clue for administration in the future so also the national church of such a state must do likewise. Whether the Church is established or disestablished precisely the same administrative problem will face her. No act of Parliament will make this greater or less, other or different from what it is " in the nature of things."

We shall be forced to face the situation sooner or later, or perish as a National Church. " The Free Churches " have a less difficult problem, for they may act without consideration of England as a whole. It is otherwise with the Church of England. She must solve her problem of administration and the problem of English Christianity as a whole. She has to provide adequate and continuous ministrative satisfactions to the whole nation. At law all have a claim on her, though in practice some never make it, some make it intermittently, and some continuously. *The clue is found in the fact that a modern state like England is the child of the Industrial Revolution.* In both Church and State the problems are the large-scale problems of national service and can only be met by large-scale organisation. On the social side free-lance work is of little use. On the financial side success in single localities or by separate churches is deceptive, while the policy of encouraging rich priests to spend their private money is a mere childish device leading to nothing. The clue to the problems of both Church and State lies in

the fact that the great States of the world are offspring of the industrial revolution and it is the world as it is, and not an imaginary world, for which we have to cater. This fact splits the Church's problem sharply and reveals the solution, for if an adequate and continuous administration of satisfactions is to be forthcoming from a national service there must be the satisfaction of those producing the service and also the satisfaction of those consuming it. Thus there is the internal and the external problem of every such national service—whether the Civil Service or the Church.

Therefore the parts of the Church's problem are separable and can be treated separately.

(1) Internal problem of the Church in relation to herself. This embraces her synodical action[1] and organisation, as well as her administration of herself as a national service.

(2) The external problem of the Church in relation to the State.

Under the second head our method should be to explore each matter that has been forced upon the State. The State, we must remember, has been wrestling with these large-scale services while the Church is only just becoming really conscious of them, approaching from the side of political science.

[1] The development of synodical action is not dealt with here —*cf.* Bishop Barry's "The position of the Laity in the Church"— but in that direction we can move right up to the objective of an absolutely democratic body, embracing all bishops, priests and deacons of every standing and age.

We should then see what, in each sphere, is appropriate for the Church's action, what is left for her to do, what line she ought to take, and what she ought to learn, in order to equip herself for her own particular tasks. Such problems as that of the principle of population, public health, education, prohibition, con-urbanisation, touch the life of the people of England and cannot but be her concern. Her wider interests in the Empire and the existence of other Churches in England make the history of Imperial Conferences of imperative significance. The challenge of India suggests further lessons, while the tendencies of Public Finance contain also the clue to the construction of the Church's financial policy. This method of approach will reveal that margin in which the clash of sovereignty must take place. Here we come upon a necessary analysis of sovereignty, which demonstrates its limitations on earth, and posits another sovereignty which is different in kind and rests on different sanctions.

Now probably to the average Church councillor, Ruridecanal representative, member of the Diocesan Conference, or even member of the Assembly—if any should read these pages—all this will appear unreal.[1] It is not and we warn them that the world is at this moment knocking on the portals of reality. Penetrating questions as to sovereignty are being asked by multitudes

[1] " The religion which is a ' one man's show '—and the religion which is for one day a week—neither is equal to the demand of to-day, which is thirsting for reality."—Rev. S. M. Berry.

and the Church may find herself bound to ask and answer also.

> "How sweet is mortal sovranty"—think some:
> Others—"How blest the Paradise to come!"
> Oh, take the cash in hand and waive the rest;
> Oh, the brave music of a *distant* Drum!

This will inevitably lead Christians to question the expectation of Christ Himself and will call for some account of the modern eschatological school of theology. Are they to look for a second coming of Christ in person, or if not may they not hope for the Advent of His Kingdom among men? If the former, then why should they worry about social questions. "Laissez faire, laissez passer!" When Messias is come He will tell us these things. He will put everything right. Or on the other hand if these second adventists take another view they should be the most passionate reformers among men for there is so much to prepare if He is to find the fruits of practical faith upon earth. But if the Kingdom of God, *i.e.*, the Will of God (*cf.* Lord's Prayer) is the adjustment of this life to the vision of the good life of which He is Lord, if it is the descent into this world of a sovereignty which resides above (ἄνωθεν) the parties and passions of men (Article I of 39 Articles) and which will, in the final age be habitually met with a mental reaction of thankful obedience by all, then the task may be appalling, but it is one to work for with heart and brain.

II

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

The science of Public Administration has at its roots the human nexus which joins the administrative executive to the people upon whom operations and experiments are carried out. This requires some measure of agreement between the people and the executive. It must be nowadays administration by consent of the majority of the population. This means that a technique of co-operation has had to be worked out. It has been worked out differently in France, Germany, America and England but in each case there has had to be evolved a technique of co-operation, a general will. This has repeatedly broken down and frequently been modified. But the general drift all the world over has been towards an administration whose executive expresses the general will.

Upon what must this rest ? When the French Queen called Marcier de la Rivière, the Physiocrat, to her counsels and asked him how best she could serve her people he replied : " Madame, remember the nature of things and the nature of men." An historical study of comparative public administration reveals certain tendencies, born of the

nature of things and people, which, with that inevitability described by Max Farrant in his *The Development of the United States*, shows the steady movement to those forms of societary life under which large modern industrialised democratic communities alone can exist. It is a story of how the inevitable has been partially arrived at, and how despite currents of opposition and counter-currents of stimulation large scale national services have been made possible. As a growing body throws off its poisons so these social bodies have, by the achievement of a general will and by the elimination of elements that impede it, come to establish an acceptable, though often still imperfect, machinery, competent to give adequate and continuous satisfaction. It is the theme of these chapters that in those branches of administration that have for their object the maintenance, continuity, and development of the social body some measure of success towards a whole-scale life has been achieved in the direction of public health, public education, and gregarious city dwelling. That is within these provinces, and despite the problems which the happy Victorians left us, the social body and soul have been cared for on the material side, whereas the Church has failed to make her contribution effective mainly for lack of inventiveness and capacity to adapt herself to changed conditions. She has not yet created a religious technique of co-operation, a general Christian will, having regard to the inevitable developments towards the con-urbanised life

of states arising out of the Industrial Revolution[1] and of the changes in man himself produced thereby. The New Testament leaves the Church with the vision of man to be kept in body, soul, and spirit *entire*. To achieve this end S. Paul repeatedly insists that "ye be of one mind." With isolated man a full, buoyant, and hopeful life, rescuing him from conditions that would render it nasty, brutish, and short, would depend upon his capacity to judge how his health, wealth,[2] and happiness, could be kept at a maximum under given conditions. This would include spiritual satisfactions. The problem of a community is more complex but similar. But in the case of a nation we are not dealing with simple wills but with the general will of a community. If that will is to be directed to God the Church must organise itself on a national scale and offer in fullest measure, always and everywhere, a sacramental assistance commensurate with modern needs. In every case a general will has been attained, often indeed superimposed on an unwilling population, by a suggestion of topics from the central authorities, by a distribution of experience gathered from the localities, and by an all-covering organisation. The Church of England needs to build up its central departments, to filter through them the experiences of different kinds of parochial districts, and devise an adminis-

[1] Professor L. G. Knowles. *Industrial and Commercial Revolutions in 19th Century.*
[2] Professor Cannan's *Wealth.* Chapter II.

trative organisation that, avoiding the Benthamite fallacy of identity of people, places, and circumstances, can yet bring what is good in utilitarianism to bear upon the spiritual life of the people. Her work is to organise herself as a whole forthwith under a strong central control, which can be relaxed upon attainment of cohesion and, by that means suggest a general will that shall form the *élan vital* of her creative evolution. This means as a first necessity a period of inaction from noisy ill-considered speech and act, and the growth during that time of a new expectant problem-attitude, invention, and hard effortful thinking. What must be the background of our thought? At the back of all these large scale problems lies the growth of modern states towards conurbanisation. If we take London as a type and investigate the history of her problems, we shall find again that the Church has been on the side of those forces that kick against the pricks of the inevitable. In face of the real problem that will be laid bare there is something childish and sad in the proposition to pull down nineteen city churches in order to build a small fleet of villa-churches in the suburbs. For in a very short time these will be wanted much further afield. The villa churches will thus themselves need to be scrapped, like old battleships, and the money will thus have been wasted. There is a permanent season-ticket population of millions of men and women for whose benefit these City churches could be used. But to come to the problem of London

as a type. There is no book known to the writer on the history of the metropolis of London. The story of London has been lived but not yet written. Sir Walter Besant and Laurence Gomme have made valuable contributions, but there is no exhaustive historical work worthy of the theme.

And yet we know that right through its history there must have been some system of health, some street cleaning; some police to keep order; some organisation to enable a large number of people to live together in one area.

If we look at London at any given time, as an actual living thing and not as a map, we get from the first the real problem of London. It was an actual growing, spreading problem, and therefore no fixed policy could once and forever solve it. What was always necessary was an elastic flexible temporary device that would allow of its free expansion without sacrificing efficiency. But this was just what everybody was afraid of. Everybody has always been afraid of the vastness of its problems and in consequence its needs have been allowed to be put off yet again and again. It developed like a drunken man's paradise. It was condemned to slums from the first. And the root of its trouble has been the fear of tackling such a problem as a whole.

During the Norman period it was a conglomeration of Parishes, Manors, Bishops, and Church lands, and Hundreds. All these were loosely held together but there was no known system by which it could be governed as a unit.

At the end of Richard's reign there was a revolution. John was near London. A commune held sway and the administration was copied from Rouen or some city on the Seine. But the King said he would not let London become too powerful and so he dominated it from the Tower. There has always been this fear of London. The Kings feared its power. They created the Bishop's gate without and encouraged rivalry between the Abbey of Westminster and St. Paul's Cathedral. They alternatively wooed and threatened the city. Whenever they wanted its support they granted it charters and when they were strong enough they clipped its spreading wings.

Before the Reformation the Church loathed the idea of the power of London and fought against it. The appeal to Rome was a ready instrument in the hands of the Church and it was used. When the Reformation swept this away it would have seemed probable that London would have been allowed to develop. But this was not to be. Queen Elizabeth made a determined attempt to prevent London from growing. She issued a proclamation against building new houses and forbade people to take in lodgers.

This proclamation failed. All it did was to secure that London outside the wall,—that is Shoreditch, Bethnal Green, Clerkenwell,—was doomed to slums from early times. Little back courts were secretly built, tucked away behind, and lodgers were smuggled in. Thus a " submerged tenth " was always present

James I. shared Elizabeth's apprehension for he said "England will shortly be London, or London England."[1]

This was indeed prophetic.

During the eighteenth century London steadily grew over the villages of St. Pancras and Islington but the fiction that these were still country parishes was kept up. The administration was left in the hands of the Vestries. J.P.'s looked after the policing. The Vestries were legal bodies who could sue and who could levy a rate to carry out poor relief and keep up the fabric of the Church.

These Vestries were of two kinds: select vestries, either constituted by faculty of the Bishops or co-option of members appointing each other; or open vestries in which the whole body of ratepayers managed the parish business.

Professor Graham Wallas in his lecture upon this subject is accustomed to delight his students, as he so often does, with a lurid picture of these Vestries. The Parish Demosthenes holds forth with the lungs of a stentor. A great uproar is caused by this gentleman's criticism. Demosthenes tries to overcome the surge of the ocean, breaks a blood vessel, and, calmed by the calamity, the open Vestry, like "Pelagus," rolls on as before. The Select Vestry develops into an annual dinner at which the favoured ones use rosewater for their fingers, tickle and entertain their ungodly stomachs

[1] The case of Proclamation 1610. Here new buildings in London were prohibited by the King from being erected.

like the revellers of the days of Juvenal who drank pearl wine and dined on the tongues of nightingales

From this time comes "the duty of the sidesmen":

> "And when ye wardens drunken roam
> 'Tis then our job to see you home."

Needless to say this closed company of friends, relatives, and merry gentlemen did little to solve the problem of London.[1] The well-to-do people got over the welter of muddle, *not by thinking*, but by providing for their own selves, building fortified squares, and stationing armed watchmen at the gates. All the houses which abutted on the square paid a rate for this service.

This was the condition from 1688 to 1835. In 1836, arising out of all these separate efforts, there were:

Twenty-one Paving and Lighting Boards.

Nine hundred commissionaires, jobbers, and proprietors of particular estates.

Twenty-four Local Acts concerning paving and lighting.

Yet there was little paving or lighting for London except that each householder supplied for himself.

The picture we have of London in 1836 is a frightful muddle and confusion while in the background lie the awful slums ever growing wider and worse. This, in a less degree, was

[1] There is already a tendency towards a similar closeness in the new Church Council.

the case all over England when the Municipal Corporation Act of 1835 based upon the Bethamite report, extended the boundaries of the towns and democratised the closed corporations. But London was too large a problem. "All arguments against corporations applied to the problems of London," but the seat of the government of the Empire was at London and so the commission passed it by.

Now as in the case of public health so here certain happenings stimulated thinking upon the problem and led to action.

The first of these was the fear of cholera. The stench grew more offensive as London grew more in size. It came up even into the nostrils of those priviledged to take tea upon the terrace of the House of Commons. Something really had to be done then.

The second of these was the burning down of Drury Lane Theatre. This revealed that "the strange thing on wheels that used to arrive when the fire was out" was no earthly use. London was in daily danger of conflagrations. Thus things could not be put off much longer and in 1853 another commission was called to deliberate upon the problem.

Sir George Cornwall Lewis, a great political man of the moment, a man with a solemn face, whose well-weighed words and thought — containing phrases which were the admiration of all who were privileged to listen to him, tried to side-track the matter again. "It is wise to let well alone"— but it was obvious that it was no longer well with

London. Failing then to stop the discussion he described London and the proposal he had come to make if he had to make one.

"London is a province covered with houses; it is divided up the middle by the Thames; it cannot therefore be governed by one authority." There should be seven municipal Boroughs such as Finsbury, Westminster, Islington, each with its own officers.

This was followed by the clumsy Metropolitan Management Act in 1855 but things were now moving and the Metropolitan Board of Works was set up with very large powers. This body carried out immense improvements: main drainage, banking the north side of the Thames, cutting Northumberland Avenue and making several fine streets, taking over the Fire Brigade. But, as is always the case when indirect or secondary election is the method of representation, scandals in contracts became so notorious that the body became known as the "Metropolitan Board of Perks."

In 1878 Dr. Kay Shuttleworth carried a motion in the House of Commons that the city should be extended over the *whole of London.*

In 1880 the London Municipal Reform League was formed to push this principle. Still Messrs. Dilly and Dally tried to hold up London. Lord Dudley declared the whole question so vast that nothing should be done without full debate. But the day for these tactics was past. Even Gladstone saw that London had become an important political

problem and tracts began to enquire " why should London wait ? " It was clear that London wouldn't. An invention had to be devised to govern it. It was necessary to make people aware that, though they escaped to their dormitories at night, they really belonged to London. Its problem was theirs. They could not be allowed to forget it. They must carry in their subliminal consciousness an " aufgabe," a worrying problem, which they must not be allowed to escape from. They must be made to think of the problem of London as a whole.

There it lies like a starfish stretching out into green fields. Its population is a season ticket population who go up and down, flooding in and out of the Railway Termini at the same hours all the year round. Work in the Credit factory of the world is no easier than in any other factory. Let us look at London. To-day there are five administrative areas :—

(1) An administrative Area of 117 square miles which is London County.

(2) An outside Police Area of 693 square miles.

(3) Water London, which is defined by the watersheds of 537 square miles.

(4) Postal London about 690 square miles.

(5) The London University Area with a radius to Reading.

Figures will tell the story.

The City of London declined and made an empty spot in the centre of the Land.

1700	500,000	inhabitants sleeping in.
1800	130,000	,, ,, ,,
1901	26,000	,, ,, ,,
1911	19,000	,, ,, ,,
1921	?	

But the same thing is taking place with Greater London.

In 1871 there were 3,200,000 in the county of London and 600,000 in outer London.

In 1901 there were 4,536,000 in the county of London and 2,000,000 in outer London.

In 1911 there were 4,521,000 in the county of London and 2,750,000 in outer London.

In 1921 ?

We are in the presence of a steady decline of the County of London and a rapid increase of outer London. Well, there is your problem with its outward movement, with its 62 Urban District Councils, 14 District Councils, 47 Boards of Guardians, that is 262 unrelated authorties not including the Metropolitan Water Board, the Metropolitan Asylum Board, the Port of London, and Thames Conservancy.

Obviously unless Londoners are to be badly fed, carried, educated, doctored, they must get a good general will to bear upon their problem.

And *London is the type of what is going on all over* England.[1] The process of con-urbanisation

[1] We are aware that Guild Socialists point us to the evils of the omnicompetent Leviatham State and are passionately afraid of centralisation. They say it cannot be controlled and ends in misrepresentation. The Webbs on the other hand hold that the more local government develops the greater the need

is taking place and the problem of English Local Government as a whole demands solution.

It is precisely the same with the Church of England's problem. It is idle to think you are solving it when you build your little courts, and put your popular watchmen on the towers. Parochialism and individual success cut no ice at all in the real questions that face us. The Problem of the Church of England can only be solved by an invention. What are we to do? Sell nineteen city churches?

for central control. In the case of the Church of England parochialism is equally dangerous and the efficiency of the Church can, in our view, only be attained first by centralisation and after an interim devolution. We desire to see brain-work on the problem of such a quality and concentration that it will be solved by *thinking* and not by individual brilliancy or personality in scattered localities. If this be so we can ill afford to part with any property that can be used as a home for central departments. It is significant that at the cost of four millions the new home for the governance of London has been opened with great ceremony by the King. London is to be centrally governed and the Government is to be housed with appropriate dignity.

	Present County of London.	*Mining and Manufacturing Counties. Northern Midland* 0000's		*Rest of England and Wales.*
1851	236	451	276	829
1861	281	529	321	876
1871	326	628	364	953
1881	383	757	427	1030
1891	422	862	489	1126
1901	454	967	568	1255
1911	452	1084	655	1417
1921	—	—	—	—

Bowley *Elementary Manual of Statistics.* p. 89.

III

THE PRINCIPLE OF POPULATION

It is clear from the statistics given in the preceding chapter that the tendency all over industrial England is toward the con-urbanisation of the population. The workers are contracted not in numbers but in housing accommodation. Thus the tendency towards rapid geometrical increase is acted upon by a property check. Overcrowding may happen and conditions arise which make for a high birth rate, but unless con-urbanisation for large scale administration in public health, transport, education, electrical and water supply, takes place the property check will repress the tendency to increase by misery and vice. In these circumstances what is likely to happen? This raises the whole question of the principle of population and invites us to analyse the matter.

We suspect that there are few subjects which lend themselves to such confused thinking and unscientific treatment as the question of population.

Dr. Marie Stopes writes upon the subject, and is roundly abused as a pornologist. Lord Dawson at the Birmingham Church Conference says that: "Birth control has come to stay" and that it is as well to live closer to the world of reality than some good people whose heads are in the clouds.

He analyses the functions of wedlock and he is immediately attacked as unfit to be a King's physician. Even the brilliant Bagehot could not refrain from a sneer at Malthus as " a mild pottering person with a vapour of fact over his theory and a mist of theory over his facts." Marshall made excuses for Malthus on the ground that he could not foresee the effects of improvements in cultivation, due either to the growth of human knowledge, or to the accumulation of capital. Dr. Dalton quotes this with apparent approval (*The Inequalities of Income*, p. 48 and (p. 34 footnote), praises Signor Nitti for having shown the common defect in divergent doctrines of population which is that even abstract thinkers tend to be unduly influenced by the transitory economic conditions of their own time. And yet there is a convincing ring of reality in the passage of J. M. Keynes in his *Economic Consequences of the Peace* (pp. 10–13) which gives us pause and invites us to consider once more whether the tendencies expressed in the main proposition of Malthus have not basic truth in them.

We need not perhaps go so far as we heard Professor Soddy do when he roundly stated that men bred like rats and died like rats according to plenty or scarcity of food. But J. M. Keynes certainly has justification for the following :—

> " The great events of history are often due to secular changes in the growth of population

[1] For a clear statement and modern instances of the Malthusian tendency see Henry Clay's *Economics for the General Reader*.

> and other fundamental economic causes, which, escaping by their gradual character the notice of contemporary observers, are attributed to the follies of statesmen or the fanaticism of atheists. Thus the extraordinary occurrences of the past two years in Russia, that vast upheaval of society, which has overturned what seemed most stable—religion, the basis of property, the ownership of land, as well as forms of government and the hierarchy of classes—may owe more to the deep influence of expanding numbers than to Lenin or to Nicholas; and the disruptive powers of excessive national fecundity may have played a greater part in bursting the bonds of convention than either the power of ideas or the errors of autocracy."

It would seem to follow from what we have said that it is worth while to reconsider, at least in connection with the problems of the Church of England in the domain of the spirit and of the State of England in the domain of public health, if not in the wider welfare of humanity, the validity of the principle of the growth of population. Here we have only to deal with it mainly in so far as it supports our theme, namely that "in the nature of things" the destiny of the Church of England ought to be and, if she does her work, must be an Imperial one. For if it be true that England could not support her growing population because the food-producing countries had in 1914 filled up to the point of consuming most of their own grain,

if it be true that the law of diminishing returns was actually manifesting itself at the same time owing to prodigal uses of American natural resources, and the industrialisation of all great states, if it be the fact that despite all improvements the convergence of these tendencies brought the down-fall and discredit of the Victorian civilisation, then we are thrown afresh upon our own resources.

Immediately those features in the conditions of economic life of England, which arise from her industrial organisations and agricultural limitations, rise up as a property check and cause emigration into the wider lands of the Empire. The alternatives are birth control or death of our surplus population or overflow to alien countries most of which have already growing populations of their own, or a natural overflow into the Empire of Settlement and those great tracts of raw material producing lands which make up the Empire of Rule or Trust. But these latter form the home of the black man. We can never be anything but birds of passage there. The problem is narrowed down to England and the Empire of Settlement or Alliance.[1] Let us therefore for the moment, go back to the doctrine of Malthus. Let us note (*a*) how it arose ; (*b*) how it developed ; (*c*) what of it is left for our consideration to-day ; (*d*) and how far this remnant bears upon the problem of the

[1] This problem was discussed in wider aspects during 1912–1914 in the controversy between Professors Wager of Berlin and Brentano of Munich with regard to the Agaarstadt and Industriestadt.

church. Thus by the use of the historical method we shall arrive at a conclusion.

It was perhaps inevitable that, when men began "to increase and multiply upon the face of the earth" some question should arise as to numbers. This controversy as to the relative size of the populations of the world in ancient and modern times actually arose in the eighteenth century when the increase in England began to be rapid and visible to the naked eye. Most of the philosophers of the time, including Hume, took a hand. Robert Wallace held that having regard to the rapidity with which the human race multiplied there must have been an effective check upon it. Otherwise from the Deluge to the Christian Era enough time would have elapsed not only to "replenish" the earth but overcrowd it with dense populations. Godwin the Anarchist propounded a view that Utopia was possible and within the compass of man's attainment. Reason could abolish disease and even repeat on a large scale the experience of Methuselah. It was to convince his father of the impossibility of any such Utopia that Malthus wrote his essay upon "The principle of population." This principle was that population depends upon subsistence, is increased with the increase of subsistence, and is checked by misery and vice.[1]

[1] The tendency of population to fly up was controlled either by some check before birth or some check after birth. The terms misery and vice do not signify immorality like the employment of drugs or some other well-known devices. Malthus did not say "misery and device." His point was that nature itself had provided the check which produced misery—the posi-

Thus the doctrine of Malthus was a positive proposition as to the political impracticability of communism. There was an automatic property check. The doctrine was political rather than economic. But Malthus did not say why his principle was so. It was during the controversy over the Corn Duties 1813 that West pointed out that the tendency to diminishing returns of food per unit of effort accounted for the fact that this check existed. John Stuart Mill elaborated this tendency into something resembling a physical law and surrounded himself with an atmosphere of morbid dread. Marshall contented himself with making excuses for Malthus' lack of knowledge and with pointing out that in certain village conditions the property check, not now a subsistence check, but a shortage of cottages enforcing matrimonial moritoria, still existed.[1] But it was Professor Cannan who pointed out that Malthus needed no excuse, that his main proposition was valid, and that the question that really mattered from the point of view of economic welfare was whether the population, both as to numbers, as

tive checks operating before birth and preventing it, and negative checks like war pestilence and famine after it. Malthus' cure was self control—putting off marriage till the future parents had passed that age when they were likely to breed children in rapid succession.

[1] It may be that a great deal too much has been made of diminishing returns to food and increasing returns to manufactured articles. Many articles of food are highly manufactured nowadays. Flour, pickles, potted meats, etc., etc. But if the tendency is there, and if it is pulling against the other tendency of population then things will tend in the direction which Malthus pointed out.

to its composition of age and sex, as to its capacity and willingness to co-operate, and as to whether it fitted the circumstances of time and place, produced a maximum of satisfactions. To attain this end sometimes an increase would be desirable and at other times a decrease. But in as much as this posits judgment and self-restraint of a very high order, both individually, collectively, and even of such a range as to be international in scope, this takes us into the realm of a sovereignty over the wills of men of a kind never yet known; clearly there is no earthly sovereignty, not even residing in the League of Nations, which could regulate the genital impulse of the world so that it could express itself in generations that fitted times and circumstances with the closeness of a Bond Street glove. Yet here Reason and Love may wed without improvidence if their child is a sagacity of economic benefit to the race. But to abuse Malthus, to talk of birth-control as pornology, or measures for the improvement of sex relationship as legalised adultery or state-aided concubinage is neither scientific nor just. It is idle for the Church to proclaim a social campaign against economic inequalities and unhealthy crowding, and, at the same time, to insist upon a system of marital relations which tend to beget these conditions. Her influence should be to create a capacity for deliberate and conscious judgment, a synthesis of Love, Reason, and Faith, which will make for the happy continuity and not the mere procreation of the human race. The only alter-

native would be sterilisation of the unfit just as we have vaccination and inoculation. If we want the creeper of progress to climb and not sprawl, if we want to avoid the ruthless pruning knife, then some directing staples must be hammered into the walls of Civilisation. In this work the Church should take an *intelligent part* lest she be justly accused of " ill-advised obscurantism." [1]

(*d*) What is the upshot then of these considerations from the Church point of view? Let us assume that England is not going under. Her progress will be arrested, but presently she will recover and economic tendencies will once more begin to pull. What will be the conditions then? If the populations of England must be made to fit as far as possible, if there is no sovereign will or code of laws which can enforce the means of control necessary to achieve this end so that we find the whole matter left to the moral instincts of individuals; if the sex composition of populations is not yet capable of being regulated by medical knowledge; then it follows that the painful processes, acting like laws of nature, of economic tendencies are the only sanctions that can operate

[1] *The Daily Express* (Sept. 14th, 1922). Compare also Graham Wallas, *Our Social Heritage*, page 272. " At present the law (created by decisions of the courts but unchangeable without an Act of Parliament) is that if a man after marriage, contracts syphilis and infects his wife so that she is henceforward incapable of bearing healthy children, she may divorce him, marry again, and bear legitimate but unhealthy children. If he contracts syphilis but does not infect his wife she may get a separation from him, but may not divorce him and may not bear healthy and legitimate children."

to make the population fit approximately the capacities of England to support it.

Now if the Church frowns upon birth-control —then there is no other alternative for her but to accept the Malthusian tendency as a fact and face the consequences.

Those consequences are the enforced production of a stream of emigrants from England into the Empire of Settlement.[1]

If we ask of what quality and class is this stream likely to consist, we cannot be in doubt. It will be made up of some of the best elements.

(*a*) Of the thrifty middle-class who are showing signs of rapid diminution through the property check of over taxation.[2] England cannot have money in the quantities demanded by the income tax and the brainworker's family as well. The economic hurt, on the principle of marginal utility, has proved too severe a strain. It is affecting the middle classes in two ways. It is decreasing the birth rate of the middle classes and increasing the strength of the stream of emigration from this class. The Government has not apparently realised that this class has been taxed to death, directly by the income tax, indirectly by duties on food and by that most sinister and deadly form of taxation called inflation. If it is socially and economically desirable to maintain a middle and professional class of brain-workers then, as the reason for taxation is the

[1] This happened in the case of the Irish dispersion.
[2] Recent statistics prove this to be the case.

social good, the weight of taxation put upon the shoulders of the middle class is destructive, indefensible, and undesirable.

(*b*) The increased welfare—real wages—which was transferred during the war without the conscious consent and judgment of the electorate, to the mass of the working classes has caused the numbers of this class to increase. These have to be trained at great expense with the result that further taxation will be necessary if the training is to be undertaken and, as England cannot support them, they are bound to be sent as citizens to the Empire of Settlement. But even supposing England could afford to equip them, what then? Dr. Parr, the statistician, used to tell Chadwick about 1850 that each man was worth £159. Much more is spent upon a citizen now, and one can calculate that England is investing in the life of the future empire, quite apart from capital invested in Imperial enterprise and Trust money in Colonial stocks, probably tens of millions a year in making Imperial citizens. Is it not to the interests of the English state, Church, and Empire that an adequate amount should be spent upon the spiritualisation of this investment? In twenty-five years or so the current of this stream will probably be in full flood and it is then that it will be of prime importance and significance that the Church should be in a position to concentrate upon the springhead, and hence we shall plead elsewhere for a central capital fund to supplement the uncoordinated efforts of unrelated missionary societies.

With all this in mind can we envisage the Church of England, doing her work at that time? Will she not be at once the spiritual irrigator of the Empire of Settlement, the filter of the life that flows into that Empire, and the clearing house of the spiritual ideas that arise within that empire? And, if not that, what possible future can there be for the Church of England? The Church of Rome has, before now, stepped in when indigenous institutions have declined and taken over their organisation. We must never forget that Romanism in England is Romanism at its best. You have to go to Italy or Ireland to see what it can do—at its worst. But in order to rise on the tide of British Imperialism and repeat the experience of the Church in the Roman Empire, the whole Roman organisation would spend its last penny. And a Romanism impregnated with the spirit of British enterprise, British judgment, and British character might be a very noble and wonderful religion. There is your alternative to the British Imperial Church. There is no other as recent negotiations with the Eastern Church have shown.

PART II

Imperative

(*a*) The Imperial Conferences

(*b*) India's Challenge

(*c*) Politic in the New Testament and the Fathers.

(*d*) Sovereignty on Earth.

"Let all the world be peace and love—
Cancel thy debt—book with thy brother."

Schiller.

(*a*)

IMPERIAL CHRISTIANITY

Though it is true that the English do not take their Ecclesiastical Law nor Statute Law with them to the Colonies but only their Common Law it is nevertheless a fact that there is no hope of an Imperial Church based upon any of the Free Church bodies. We can find very little evidence that in places where the Free Churches have had equal opportunities with the Church of England to function they have done much better. If there is to be an Imperial expression of the Christian Faith, bearing upon it the mark of the English mind, there is no organ other than the State Church of England. The unco-ordinated operations of Christian sects merely spreads imperially the rot of disunion. Even in England this is enfeebling; in the Empire it is dangerous. The Eastern Church is now quite out of the question as an instrument making for world co-operation. The Roman Church still remains, but there again we have but the historical expression of an ancient Empire whose institutions once influenced the world and gave place to other organisations which superseded it because they had the greater readiness to adapt themselves to changing circumstances.

There is no more hope in Roman Christianity than there would be if we revived the Roman Empire. The contribution Roman Christianity had to make has already been made. The future

lies with an English Christianity which should be the expression of English civilisation on the spiritual side. The only organ competent to spread this through the world is the Church of England organised imperially.

Here again there is a parellel between the crown and the Church of England. Both have an Imperial significance which takes its rise in their connection with the English State. Both may be a disruptive or a unifying force according as they are applied in one way or another to Imperial problems. There would seem to be a useful field for consideration in the History of the Imperial Conferences which represent a magnificent series of efforts on the part of British and Colonial statesmen to work out a technique of co-operation between the States of the British League. Here again we shall find the Imperial super-state is in advance of the Imperial Church, and that the latter has still to make its effort to catch up lest the Empire outgrow permanently the Imperial Church. By means of this examination we shall come upon the clue to a solution of most of the difficulties facing the Church in the Empire.

The Premiers of the self-governing Dominions recently (1921) came to England for the second fourth-yearly Imperial conference. Let us indicate the main currents of British Imperial thinking which have flowed from the deliberations of Imperial statesmen since the modern problems of the " Empire in Alliance " began to be seriously considered.

For this purpose we must go back to the British North America Act of 1867 which gave Canada her constitution. Up to that date statesmen still followed the Durham report of 1839. They thought it possible to keep the Colonies in dependence on the Colonial Office. Mr. My-Mother-Country of that department sat astride the situation. But from that time there was a gradual and emphatic movement towards colonial nationalism. We find the Dominions combating any question of Imperial federation. As often as the question of Imperial federation arose it was resisted and put side. Then came the Jubilee of Queen Victoria to which the representatives of the whole Empire were called. Pride in the Empire awoke an enthusiasm for Empery for the first time, since the loss of the first British Empire. As Mark Twain, viewing the preparations for the great festivities that took place at that time gently remarked, "Blessed are the meek for they shall inherit the earth." But at the root of this new Imperial patriotism there was something more than the expression of affection for a revered sovereign lady. It was realised for the first time that in view of the industrialisation of the great powers of Europe the raw materials of the British Empire were no mean heritage. The period subsequent to 1867 had been pessimistic. Disraeli had complained of "these wretched millstones round our neck."

The scramble for spheres of influence was beginning in earnest. Sir John Seeley wrote his *Expansion of England* and Froude's *Oceana* had

set forth imperial propaganda in such a way as to frighten colonial opinion. The politic of Imperial power had been "born again." Statesmen in England became afraid that we might be left alone to fight against continental foes, who after 1870 with growing populations and industrialised conditions, were more and more seeking raw materials and world markets. England's world-wide trade began to take an inward Imperial turn. Thus there was growing among English statesmen a desire for co-operation between the mother country and the self-governing Dominions. The atmosphere of 1887 was charged with this feeling, and into that atmosphere the colonial representatives stepped to confer. It is true that the conference was casual, amorphous, and unaware of any future as a conference. But for the first time the modern Imperial problem was seen in its real bearings and though the meeting arrived at nothing it was the beginning of that self-conscious British Imperialism which saved the world in 1914.

QUEEN VICTORIA'S JUBILEE

The characteristics of the 1887 conference may be set out shortly as follows :—

1. The status of the Colonies was recognised. All were agreed that the status was inferior to that of the United Kingdom. They had smaller populations and these populations has as yet no very definite or strong national character. They were, as they confessed they were, provincial.

2. The Colonies were obviously afraid that if they were caught in any rigid net of Federalism they might be pledged to principles which they could not subsequently abnegate.

They therefore insisted that the conference was merely consultative and they purposely excluded political questions from the agenda. The colonial representatives did not feel equal to the task of framing, in the circumstances, a new Imperial constitution. British statesmen were superior and the colonials had no mandate from their peoples. They did the only thing open to them. They put off the whole question till Imperial opinion should have formed and expressed itself. In this they showed themselves astute diplomatists, for they were well aware that Lord Salisbury wanted to federate the Empire and make the colonies pay their share in its common defence. This posited also some form of commercial agreement. The colonials knew that at the back of these proposals was the fight over the partitioning of Africa which was seen to be likely to produce European trouble.

The Germans had successfully consolidated their Zollverein and Kriegsverein, that is their custom union and their Imperial army, and were beginning to challenge us on the sea.

COLONIAL HESITATION

Why then did not the Colonial Premiers fall in with the suggestion to do likewise and counter Germany's growing strength ?

The first reason was that they saw that they would have to bear great expenses and yet the final control would be England's. Therefore, only one, Australia, promised a squadron and when the Australian Premier returned he got a cool reception. As a matter of fact it was obvious from the first that there was a complete cleavage of policy, a conflict of opinion. The Colonies wanted local navies based on colonial ports. England, even then conscious of where the real menace lay, wanted colonial squadrons centralised for strategic purposes in the North Sea or within easy reach of it. There was an equally divergent opinion upon the tariff question and only a weak form of reciprocity within the Empire was suggested. Obviously the points of view of the home and colonial statesmen were not identical.

The conference broke up with these differences fully revealed. It was felt by the overseas representatives that little could be achieved unless they could meet under more equal and freer conditions where they could speak their mind. Thus in the same year they decided to hold a conference at Ottawa. At that conference certain pressing questions were dealt with, notably concerning cables, steamship lines, Imperial preference, and defence. Once more the questions of Imperial preference and defence were left unsettled, but an important step forward was taken. It was resolved that " it was desirable to hold regular conferences " and the constitutional procedure was settled.

KING EDWARD'S CORONATION

The first of these took place in 1902 when the Premiers again met in England for King Edward's Coronation. So that up to 1902 certain important facts had been fully grasped :—

1. The British Imperial problem could not be settled by any short-cut methods.

2. There were divergent, if not incompatible, elements emerging as the facts were faced, and these were especially clear in the matters of tariffs and defence.

3. That this posited a regular consultation between the different parts of the Empire and the mother country, if friction or worse was to be avoided.

The policy of Lord Salisbury therefore failed, as later on the policy of Mr. Chamberlain was to fail in part also.

But we hope to show that this was really all to the good. It preserved the flexibility of the Empire and enabled the plan of regular consultation to take shape. It led England to that naval strategy of concentration in the North Sea which saved the Empire. It really set the direction of future Imperial policy by showing firstly what was unworkable or undesirable, and by pointing secondly to a solution which would make possible a single imperial policy without sacrificing that independence which is absolutely essential to the natural growth of such a complex organisation as the British Empire. It will be to these earlier

experiences that we shall return again, for it is probable that the lines of future advance will be seen to have been marked out already. That is the British Empire will develop not by tightening it up into a rigid constitution, but by preserving its flexibility while at the same time affording an adequate channel for continuous discussion. There will be no federation but day-to-day contact through a permanent secretariat in London, other than and independent of the Colonial Office. The tendency for these permanent officials to succumb to the atmosphere of adjacent British departments will be counteracted by annual or biennial conferences of Premiers in London and elsewhere. We have now to trace the next stage of development which begins with the conference of 1902 and covers the campaign of Mr. Joseph Chamberlain

MR. CHAMBERLAIN'S POLICY

The conference of 1902 took place at the time of King Edward's Coronation. One of the great years in the history of British Imperial relations had just passed. The "White Australia" policy had conflicted with our treaty with China, and there had grown up such a strong feeling of nationalism that in 1900 the Australian Commonwealth Act, federating the Australian States, had been passed. Before this date there had been five representatives from Australia. Now there was to be one. The principle of regular conference was

further developed. It was resolved that a meeting should take place every four years between the Secretary of State for the Colonies and the Prime Ministers of the self-governing States. This is a step from regular meetings towards that continuous conference which is firmly in the minds of all imperial statesmen to-day. It will be recalled that the atmosphere of 1902 was one of war excitement. The Boer War had been fought. The Colonies had sent contingents to South Africa, and by that voluntary act had one and all agreed to the principle of non-secession. The warmth of loyalty was in the air. Therefore, as soon as the conference met, the astute statesmen of this country put forward again the ideas of Imperial Preference and Defence. Mr. Joseph Chamberlain had great expectations from the meeting. The Manchester School had wished to let the Colonies "hive off." Chamberlain flung the full force of his matchless powers on the side of a constructive Imperialism. He said, "Gentlemen, we do want your aid, the assistance of the vast Empire which is yours as well as ours." Here we have the bold expression of the idea of partners of equal status, completely superseding the former notion of dependence and inferiority. He assured the Colonials :—"We shall hasten to call you to our councils." There was, then, to be a continuous consultation of equals and partners in a great single enterprise. However, the question of defence once more cast its sinister shadow over the proceedings. Canada stood out without giving any

promise. Australia and the smaller Colonies like Tasmania and New Zealand, having small pecuniary resources, were inclined to a large policy. They promised small contributions. Once more when the Australian Premier arrived back home he was openly attacked for lending support to the scheme. "Since Australia has no control of the money, personnel, manœuvring, and discipline of ships, no promise ought to be given by Australia." The ear-marking of troops for Imperial Service was equally objected to by the Colonies. It was roundly opined that each Colony should assist in whatever way seemed to the Colony to be best at the time.

The net result was that Mr. Chamberlain saw that no federation could be achieved by face-to-face tactics. He turned to that preference campaign of 1903, which marks an era both in domestic and imperial politics. Though he got the support of the great business men of the country he split the Unionist Party and shook the party system to its foundations. The result was the Conservative landslide in 1906.

We have carried the history of Imperial Conferences up to the year of King Edward VII's Coronation. We have the self-governing Dominions moved forward from a position of agreed inferiority to a position of agreed equality. Certain great questions like Imperial Preference and Defence had been gone into. The proposition for Imperial Federation had been consistently turned down and the problem of the Imperial

Constitution had been left unsolved. It was in 1907 that the question of the constitution was brought into the forefront of Imperial politics. Between 1902 and 1907 there had been a discussion among publicists. The Royal Colonial Institute had discussed the question of future co-operation in magazines, in books, and in the Press. Thus the following suggestions were made at this time :—

1. That there should be a continual council of advice, made up of representatives of the Dominions and Great Britain, which should have " persuasive authority." This was obviously vague and fruitless.

2. In 1905, the Under-Secretary for the Colonies, being Mr. Lyttleton, he suggested that there should be not a Colonial Conference but an Imperial Council with a permanent secretariat in London.

All the Colonies, save Canada, thought this was merely a change of name. But Canada took fright fearing that her full measure of autonomous administrative power might be trenched upon. The term " Colony " was cut out and " Dominion " was put in. The four-yearly proposal was made definite and the purpose of it was defined. It was to " discuss questions of common interest."

THE RESOLUTIONS OF 1907

The actual resolutions of the 1907 Conference were :—

1. The Constitution of the Imperial Conference. It was to consist of " His Majesty's Government

and his Governors of self-governing Dominions beyond the seas."

This was a change of status of the Governments concerned. Each discussion was to be conducted by two representatives of each Dominion, and each country was to have one vote, that is their two representatives were to vote as one.

2. A permanent secretariat was to be forthwith established to get together information for each conference. This was not to be a dependent department of the Civil Service. The staff was to be appointed by Dominion Ministers. The importance of this stipulation was immediately evident. For the first time a distinction was made between a Crown Colony and a Dominion Department in the Colonial Office. It was a large step forward towards complete emanicpation from the Colonial Office régime, and it leads logically to the position which will probably bring us, despite its obvious dangers of putting the Crown into the arena of Imperial politics, to direct advice being given to the King by the separate Ministries of the different Dominions on affairs touching those Dominions.

3. Interim Conferences were proposed. To deal with matters of importance that could not be postponed there should be subsidiary conferences at which special subjects should be discussed and only representatives concerned should take part.

4. There was a debate on the names "Dominion" and "Colony." All the Empire was considered as H.M. Dominions, some "Home

Dominions" and some "Beyond the sea." But all under one.

We can observe quite clearly the current and counter-current of Imperial policy working out a resultant in one direction.

The Colonies were asserting their independence, not of the British Empire, but of the domination of Colonial Office rule. They were now to be His Majesty's Dominions, of equal status; of equal voice in Imperial policy as a whole; with special right of speech on their several questions in particular; with a secretariat independent of the Colonial Office; with means for continuous, as well as regular, consultative action, and finally with a definite claim to direct access to the Crown.

THE PROBLEM TEMPORARILY SOLVED

Thus the problem of how to keep a continuous Council was to be solved along the line :—

1. Of a secretariat.
2. Of permanent officials to take part in interim conferences. That is there were to be Resident Colonial Ministers in England.

The whole proposition of Salisbury and Chamberlain for federation had posited an Imperial Parliament. The relations of such a Parliament to the Home Parliament could not be defined and colonial opinion was not yet very favourable to any of these proposals. It was feared that a body of opinion on matters colonial would grow up in the atmosphere of England, an *esprit de corps*

would arise amongst ministers resident in the surroundings of St. Stephen's and the Court, which would not be colonial. Colonials would begin to aspire to titles, and consciously or unconsciously to be influenced by the prospect of knighthoods and peerages. It was felt in the Colonies that this would endanger their autonomy and bring into the social equality of these countries the inequalities of rank which they abhorred.

Thus a compromise was arranged. The secretarial scheme was adopted in preference to the ministerial one. Resident officials should meet and take decisions, not to be binding or final, but to be ratified in every case by each Colony. Thus the difference between a Confederacy and a Federation was strongly worked out. In 1911 Mr. Ward, Premier of New Zealand, tried to bring in an Imperial Parliament of Defence but the Federal idea was really dead, and when the war broke out Mr. Curtis, of " The Round Table," gave it its *coup de grace.*

THE WAR PERIOD

This brings us to the war period, 1914–1918. The normal meeting was to have taken place in 1915, but was postponed. The war had been in progress some months and the Colonies had organised and despatched large bodies of troops. Yet they were not being taken fully into the confidence of those who were making the plans of war. They protested, with the result that a

great innovation was made. The British War Cabinet was formed, which included the Prime Ministers of the Dominions. On May 15th, 1917, Mr. McKenna asked whether the Prime Minister wanted to make a statement to the House. Mr. Lloyd George said :—" The Imperial War Cabinet was unanimous that this new procedure had been of such service that it ought not to be allowed to fall into desuetude. It was therefore proposed to hold it annually or even at shorter intervals if necessary." So that we have arrived in 1917 at the position of an Imperial Cabinet, made up of the Prime Minister of England and the Premiers of the Colonies or their accredited alternates, all possessed of equal authority. This meant Resident Ministers and continuous session. An Indian representative was to be included as well. The important point was that it was now conceded that the Dominions were to have a voice in the making of policy and the Prime Minister hoped this arrangement would be a permanent convention of the constitution. We observe the growing pressure exerted by the Colonial Premiers.

THE COLONIES NOT CONSULTED

Directly the question of collective action in policy was seen to be the inevitable result of the war service of the Dominions to the British Empire and the Allies, the Colonial statesmen began to press this to its logical conclusion. According to International Law, if England went to war, the

Colonies were regarded as going *ipso facto* to war also, and, though they might declare themselves neutral, the enemy might not accept this position and attack the Colony. The Declaration of London had been made in 1909 without consulting the Dominions and this declaration had gravely affected the Colonies. The Hague Conferences had taken place in the past and the Dominions had had no voice there and no independent *locus standi*. They had not been consulted by England, who had, nevertheless, spoken for them. Thus, not having been consulted in the Hague Conferences, it seemed natural that they should not be consulted over the Declaration of London. They had been enmeshed in the Great War, though they had never had a say as to the foreign policy leading up to it. It was obvious that in future the Dominions should be consulted. They had had their own way on commercial matters. They now determined to have it on matters of policy. Mr. Fisher, of Australia, said so quite plainly. He said, "We must know what is going on, not after the event, but before it."

IMPORTANT YEARS AND PROPOSITIONS

Thus 1917–1918 became very noteworthy years in the history of the Empire. There were sitting the Home Cabinet, the War Cabinet, the Imperial War Cabinet, and the Imperial Conference. Important steps were taken. It was decided to cut down the period between meetings from four

years to one year. That is an almost continuous consultation was arranged, in fact, in 1918 the Imperial Conference decided to have representatives always on the spot. During this period there was an eagerness on the part of our home statesmen to get the constitution readjusted and certain matters, notably the right to direct access to advise the Crown, were uppermost in the mind of the Colonials. But in 1917 the Imperial War Cabinet had passed the resolution that "the Constitution is too intricate to be dealt with during the war."

Definite propositions were set out for consideration of the conference due to meet in June, 1921. These were:

1. Self-government and complete control of domestic affairs.
2. Full recognition of the autonomous nature of the Imperial Commonwealth.
3. A voice in common policy and foreign relations.
4. A continuous consultation on all Imperial affairs.

GENERAL SMUTS

At the back of these is the master mind of General Smuts.[1] His speeches contain the body of thought around which the constructive Imperialism of the next fifty years is likely to crystallise, just as it was his two-penny pamphlet that contained most of what is worth retaining in the League of Nations covenant. He pointed out that the American

[1] Perhaps also "The Round Table" has influenced Imperial policy.

Federal Constitution had reached its limit. The American States are turned out in one mould. But the British Empire is utterly different. Great new nations have come to birth. A static constitution is impossible. A dynamic arrangement is imperative. Any attempt to fix the Imperial Constitution in any rigid mould would break the machinery to pieces and wreck the Empire. It is clear that the future lies in consultation, full expression of unfettered opinion, and the voluntary principle. On September 9th, 1919, Smuts mentioned how the other nations were taken aback by the fact that the Empire was a system of free states working for common ideals of government. At the Peace Treaty the Dominions signed separately. They entered the League of Nations as separate nations. They are partners with us in the great enterprise that lies before us. They are not yet equal in power but they are already equal in status. Some day, not a far day either, they will be equal in status and greater in power as well. Canada has sent a separate diplomatic representative as Ambassador to Washington. They consult among themselves. They think. They have come through the fire with us and we are still one, mainly because Imperial statesmen, conscious that the great Dominions can never again be coerced or kept dependent, have refused to attempt to make a constitution for the Empire. They have refrained from the attempt simply because it is impossible. They have, in agreement with our home statesmen, seen quite clearly that it

is impossible. They have put their indentured signatures to a League of Nations covenant, which displays those very faults of rigidity which they have avoided in the case of British Imperialism.

SETTLEMENT OF IRELAND

That does not mean that they believed a world constitution could be handed by them to stiff-necked multitudes of undesirous and unready millions. It meant that a greater task than of building a world empire had been envisaged. They had seen, like all real critics of mankind, the promised land, and, like the pioneers they have always been, they advanced towards it. That is why, after they had only been in session a few days, the Irish question was ripped from the narrower confines of domestic politics to which it had never rightly belonged since this century began, and placed within the broad purview of the Empire in Alliance. We can do together what we cannot do alone.

This study reveals the methods by which an Imperial technique has been evolved in spite of conflicting interests and opposing policies.

Patient deliberation leading to intelligent compromise ; a willingness to treat the Empire as a whole without demanding the sacrifice of vital principles cherished by individual units within the whole body ; the readiness of all members to probe questions but not to cause unnecessary pain to tender nerves ; the spirit of inventiveness

in face of deadlock. These principles are revealed in the study of the Imperial Conferences. The cause of Imperial Unity has been advanced to an immeasurable degree while the sturdy independence and honest conviction of individuals has been preserved. This has been achieved not by shackling the Empire to any set device such as Federalism or any specific doctrine which is poison to one part of the Empire and meat to another part. The British Empire has not been wedded to any statical ideal, but the eternal laws of growth and adaptation have been respected, and dynamical life has been made possible within the league. Our influence upon the world outside has been reckoned with and the kind of world this influence would produce has been envisaged. It is along similar lines that the kingdom of God working through the Empire can spiritualise Humanity.

Whatever may have been the causes which led the Christian Mission to organise itself upon the system of Guilds with which the Roman Empire was shot through and through (*cf.* Cobern *The New Archæological Discoveries* and Hatch *The Organisation of the Early Church.*) There can be no doubt that before the Ecclesia crystalised it was in a liquid state and its law was one of day by day necessity. That is, during its formative period, it tended to shape itself after Roman Institutions and did not hesitate to use Roman organisation except where wholly incompatible with the Lordship of Jesus Christ. But the earliest form was more like a daily consultative plan, like

that worked out by recent Imperial Conferences. It is remarkable that British Imperialism has tended, since the loss of the first British Empire, towards the elimination of cut-and-dried rigid theories like Federialism, and has definitely preserved the flexibility of organisation which was already characteristic of the Constitution.

This flexible principle has its parallel in "the day by day law" of the Kingdom of God—*τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν τὸν ἐπιούσιον δὸς σήμερον*—and it will probably be conceded that it is the inwardness of the considered decision of the Council of Jerusalem given in Acts xv. There probably the threefold Western reading—*ἰδωλυθύταν ἅιματα, πορνείας*, omitting *πνικτῶν*—which adds the Golden Rule and is found in D.Lat.Versions., Irenaeus, Tertullian, Eusebius, and Cyprian, represents the complete adherence of the council to the dynamical ideal for which St. Paul, pleaded. "Ye shall do well being carried along by the Holy Ghost."

Is there no hint here for us of the Church of England? Can we not carry with our commerce and industry to the uttermost parts of the earth spiritual satisfactions without which material welfare is of little avail? Can we not influence mankind by making it true:—"Deus Justitia, Mercatura, et Decus?" And in this enterprise, though we carry with us an unqualified loyalty to the British Throne and the Institutions which cluster around it, we shall not strive to make Caesarian citizens, *καισαριανοί i.e.*, slaves or soldiers

of an earthly Caesar, but Christians (χριστιανοί), slaves and soldiers of Christ.

Latin Imperial Christianity gave a statical ideal, a highly organised uniformity, to the world which held together civilisation for a thousand years. The Imperial Conferences teach us the danger of attempting to pulverise the genius of particular states under a single principle or policy. This gives us the clue to that contribution which the Imperial Church of England may yet make to the dynamical societies overseas.

(*b*)

INDIA

Since 1914 India has come out of " The Empire of Trust or Rule " into " The Empire of Alliance." She has passed out of that stage of development within the empire in which she was associated with backward peoples. But she has come not with a spirit of gratitude for emancipation but with a bugle-blast of challenge. The trumpet of judgment upon Western civilisation which has proceeded from Russia has found an echo in the heart of the Indian peoples and has been answered by a blast of challenge to the British Raj to give account of its stewardship. Now it can be demonstrated that certainly not here and probably not in France or Germany is a revolution likely. Whatever India may say of ourselves we shall not be moved in the direction of Communism. As a matter of fact it will appear that though we may have been wrong in supporting and encouraging Japan along certain

well known lines we have nothing to reproach ourselves with in the matter of the administration of India.

The attack from Russia has failed. Lenin himself has confessed that, whatever may be the result of the large-scale communistic experiment tried in the already-collapsed peasant empire, it could not succeed in those countries where there is a strong middle class. It is interesting to note that Bolshevik effort took the same course of attempted expansion as the Russian aggressive policy under the Czars. First it struck West, then to Constantinople, then to Turkistan and the Himalayas and then to the Far East. Will it end as the Czardom ended? How far it has disintegrated the other civilisations like the Mohammedan, Hindoo, and Confucian is not yet fully apparent. But that its fanwise movement has created a draught across the whole East is certain. What its effects would be on the caste system of India is problematical, but it could be safely assumed that if it were the only concomitant in operation very little need be feared. But it is not the only one. There are forces so powerful at work that Pilate and Herod are made friends. The Hindoos and Mohammedans are temporarily at one in their opposition to the British Raj.

This is not a possible permanent alliance, but it is a sign of the intense feeling at work in India to-day, and it demands of British Statesmen the most exhaustive analysis and the greatest care. Without a doubt the British residents in India are

in danger, and that great country is in grave peril of a terrible conflagration. On the side of Britain would be most of the native chiefs, the British Army, the Eurasians, the Railway Services directed by Europeans, the Civil Servants and the vested interests. Against would be the native students, parts of the native army and police, lawyers, politicians, and all the discontented elements. India is, however, a land of many different races, languages, castes, interests, traditions and far distances. The struggle would be terrible, but in the end the British forces and transport would prevail. There is then a very likely prospect of an outburst from the Kyber Pass to Cape Comerin, in which thousands of British will be massacred, in comparison with which the Indian Mutiny will be a trifle, and by the result of which the history of India will be affected for the next five hundred years.

Now why has this situation arisen ?

1. Is it due to the bad government and administration of the past ?

2. Is it due to an unwise experiment in the present ?

3. Is it due to a new envisagement of the future by the natives of India itself ?

These questions must be answered both by ourselves and by the peoples of Hindustan frankly and honestly if we are to appreciate where we stand.

Now it will be remembered that John Stuart Mill was responsible for the steps which followed the realisation in England that a commercial under-

taking like the old "John Company" could no longer be entrusted with the huge piece of administrative government necessary to insure the welfare of three hundred millions of human beings. India had outgrown the administration of a company. Her problems had become stupendous. The Mutiny showed that the old machinery was inadequate. A new political invention was inevitable. England faced the responsibility. The proclamation of Queen Victoria embodied the principle of the justice and government she proposed to impose upon the Indian people for their good, and the first step in the emancipation of India was taken. Mill was ever frightened of what he called the "impertinent interference of elected representatives." He feared that a handful of English members of Parliament, who knew nothing of the country and had never lived in it, would be meddling with affairs they did not understand. He, therefore, set up the Indian Council at home, which was to consist mainly of men who had spent most of their life in the Indian services, who knew the conditions of the country, and whose opinion on all matters was to prevail over that of the Secretary of State for India. The latter was not to act upon his own initiative or responsibility. He was to be answerable to Parliament in theory, but in reality he was not able to act alone. This paradoxical position of being responsible for acts he was not allowed to commit was gradually done away. But in the early years of the new administration this screen

between India and the British House of Commons was maintained.

How was it that it was removed? The device worked out quite differently from the anticipations of Mill. It became difficult to get any interest taken by the House in Indian questions. Mill's arrangements to secure a first-rate Civil Service worked admirably. The finest brains of the universities passed into that service. The administration of India under that service was magnificent. It merits, though bureaucratic, have never been in question. India was felt to be in expert hands. The Indian Budget was almost taken as read and for granted in the House.

The trouble was not that there was hypercriticism, but that there was no criticism at all. Only a few members gathered to hear the Indian Budget read, and the fact that the Secretary of State for India was not under the financial control of the House put him in a position of great strength. More and more he came to disregard the screen set up by Mill until the time when John Morley was Secretary of State for India. The position in India then was that the Japanese wars, the growth of a small class of Indian graduates whose aspirations were damped by the very efficiency of the British Civil Service in India, and the perceptible stirring of a political consciousness in certain classes, demanded some measure of reform. Morley moved very slowly, but the next step in India's career was taken. Natives were nominated to the central and local councils.

This brings us to consider the actual machinery of government that replaced the " John Company." At Simla there was set up the central governing body of India. A Viceroy and Council of British nominated civilians. But the actual administration was carried out in the provinces over which a governor, sent out from England and assisted by a nominated council of the Civil Servants of the Presidency, presided. The Morley reform introduced into these councils a representative nominated native element, a few were men of note who were to be trusted. But the Civil Service was left untouched, and so this did not satisfy the more advanced elements among the educated natives, When the present writer was in India, 1905–1909. the Swadeshi movement was gathering force, becoming loudly articulate among the urban population, and it was slowly penetrating the Mofussil (country). But at that time the masses were not ready to follow Tilak. It was possible to transport him to the Andaman Islands without causing much ado. The people followed the British Raj in preference. To-day they follow Gandi. And the problem in 1922 is not one of an inert inarticulate mass of 300 millions of politically unconscious people, but of some twenty million, intensely alive to their own problems, gravely concerned about the treatment of their fellow countrymen in the Empire, much exercised over the partitioning of provinces, passionately protestant in their native Press and ready to follow their own leaders. It was in 1914 a problem that might

have waited twenty years, but not much longer. The war, and the part played by India in it brought her into the Empire of Alliance ; the problem was of immediate importance and procrastination became impossible.

This situation brought forth the Montagu-Chelmsford report, which was based upon the proposals of Mr. Curtis in " The Round Table." The situation then was that India was governed out there by :—

1. A central administration at Simla, over which presided the Viceroy, and which was made up of a mixed nominated council in which the Civil Servant element predominated, but which contained certain representatives of business and native interests.

2. The whole Government together was Federal. Each presidency repeated the Simla type.

Mr. Curtis proposed that in the several federal presidencies, like Bombay, Madras, etc., experiments should be made of moving right up to the desired end in certain services, and if these were well administered then others were to be added. There were to be elected representatives, a wide property franchise, but there were to be also parallel councils, some Europeans, some native administering two kinds of services :

(*a*) Those dealing with " reserved " powers.

(*b*) Those dealing with " transferred " powers.

The " Reserved " powers were to reside in British hands, and were to be concerned with finance, railways, army, police, etc.

The "Transferred" powers were to cover Education, Forestry, Irrigation, Public Works and so on. Thus native administrators were to be able to spend all that they budgetted for over and above what was essential for the reserved services. If native opinion wanted more education it could have it and pay for it. If the plan worked well more powers were to be transferred, and so forth.

3. The great Indian Civil Service was to be gradually extinguished as a British service. Natives were to fill an increasing percentage of vacancies until in thirty-three years the India Civil Service was to be purely native. Both the Simla Government and its constitution was to be untouched.

Hence it has been laid down that: "The policy of His Majesty's Government is that natives shall be associated more and more with every branch of the government and administration of India."

Thus the third great step had been taken and we are brought right up to the present day. It may be fairly said that, despite certain bureaucratic tendencies, the British Raj has been pure, just, wise, progressive, and has been moving towards the goal of Indian self-government within the Empire. It is not seriously argued otherwise, even in India.

Neither, then, in the past fifty years nor at the present time can it be said that Britain has failed in her duty and responsibility to the Indian peoples.

It is true that there are effects due to the war which England did not seek ; there are loosening influences of the Bolshevic propaganda that England did not disengage ; there is acute economic distress as there is throughout the whole world ; there is a temporary alliance between Hindoos and Mohammedans over the foolish handling of the Turkish question ; but when the writer was there his impression was that Indian Moslems would not revolt to uphold the Sultan unless the Caliph were really badly treated. Mohammedanism is far more a civilisation than a religion, and nothing but a deliberate attack upon it as a civilisation would be sufficient to produce an inextinguishable Holy War ; and finally, the best Indian opinion even to-day would prefer the British exotic to the Japanese or to any Colonial interference.

In our view none of these matters really account for the grave situation in India. The best opinion in India would admit that we have done our best, and that as far as Western civilisation could bless India we have been a blessing.

What then does account for the restlessness of that conglomeration of peoples and castes and religions we call India ?

In our judgment there are three main causes :—

1. The Indian peoples have seen great nations of the East coming out of obscurity with almost an apocalyptic suddenness. The mediaeval green dragon of Japan has leaped from its picture frame and has proved its fangs to be terrible and its fiery breath to be burningly real. The impact has

been felt all over the East and India's national pulse has been quickened. Has this drawn India closer to us who supported Japan? We believe it has gone to the roots not only of British rule, but it has condemned Western civilisation in Indian eyes. For whence came these instruments of devilment that slaughter men by the millions? The Great War answered that. The whole East is afraid for its ancient civilisation, as its prophet Rabindranath Tagore has exclaimed.

2. The Indian peoples have come to believe that an acquisitive civilisation that dominates, divides, and rules by such a sanction, a civilisation which has brought such devastation into the world of the West and allowed, with cold-blooded indifference, the Japanese to hold Confucius' Shantung Peninsula, is devoid of the sympathy that India needs to dovetail her many divisions into an organic nationality.

3. Consequently the mind of India claims that the Indian civilisation may be inferior to the Western in material wealth and in modern warfare, but that on the spiritual side it is superior. It is felt and asserted that our civilisation has within it the seeds of its own destruction and that it is a foolish policy to anchor the future of India to nations which are materialised, suicidal, and rapidly decaying. It is felt that like the Continent of Atlanta, we are destined to be submerged. India does not wish to be drowned with us; India has come to regard us as an upstart race, whose administration of her affairs is but an interim; and

further to believe that the spirituality of the East will last on long after we have brought our years to an end as a tale that is told. Hence her challenge is a challenge of the East to the West; it is a clash of different civilisations.

We have given what we believe to be the answer. The critical situation in the East is not due fundamentally to bad administration nor to any particular government here, though the colouring has been heightened by bungling, but to the envisagement of a future for herself which we would persuade her should arise out of our Western civilisation and which she believes cannot do so.

From the Church point of view it would seem to appear clearly that the large-scale experimental efforts of Imperial Christianity must be made outside India among our own people in the Colonies, where there is already a framework more closely related to our own social heritage than that of the more ancient civilisation of Hindustan. As far as the internal work of the English Church in India is concerned it will, for the present, be sufficient to co-ordinate mission work now carried on by Societies whose teachings conflict, whose outlook is different, and which afford no body of agreed Christian thinking to which intelligent natives can appeal with any hope of a consistent answer. What seems to be required is the Sadhu[1] spirit,

[1] Sadhu Sundar Singh, called of God, has "experienced," Khuda Ki Rûh., רוּחַ אֱלֹהִים: After 13 years of a wonderful and adventurous life as a Christian fakîr he can write to us:—"Aj main shukarguzári ke sâth apne tajruba 13 baras ke *experience* se kah Sakta hûn Ki Masih aj Kal aur hamesha

which can take native life as it really is and express it through those forms already loved and "understanded" of the people. It is worse than useless to attempt to superimpose a Church upon India which is a part of Western civilisation and which is repugnant to the nature of things and people of the Orient.

Summary of Part I and Part II (*a* and *b*).

We may now sum up the probably decisive direction in which the Anglican Church will be compelled to move.

§ I. The new machinery of government and administration will have to be overhauled. (1) On the ministrative side synodical action, both Diocesan and Provincial, will have to be undertaken. This will rid the Church Assembly of its overweighted ecclesiasticism, free it for frank discussion, and appropriate to it those functions with which it ought to be concerned. The tangled skein of[1] ministrative and administrative matters will thus be unravelled. This effect of democratic synodical organisation will also be to give the producers of

yaksân hai (Hebrews xiii-8). "To-day I can say with thankfulness after thirteen years of experience that Christ is the same yesterday, and to-day, and for ever." Yet to tell us he cannot find an Urdu word for the "experience" of Jesus Christ indwelling in his heart. In Indian civilisation this dynamic is wanting and there is no word for the operation of the Holy Ghost. Sadhu is a microsm of India. What India needs is not so much our Western civilisation, but the impregnation of her own older civilisation with the power that makes all things new.

[1] It will also adjust Convocation to the synodical system.

spiritual service that satisfaction without which the consumers of it cannot hope to get a full and noble ministration.

(2) On the administrative side we have to hand the means of supplying the machinery with the power to make it work. There is no reason why the public administration of the Church as a National Service should be less efficient than that of any other national service. The administrative factor in Church government is of first importance if spiritual happiness and satisfaction is to accrue to the nation

§ II. The inevitable tendency under modern Industrial Democracy is that the state should be organised for the large-scale supply of satisfactions and services. The tendency towards the localisation of the population is not balanced by the facilities of modern transport. Populations go where there is industry and tend to remain; also densely populated districts tend to attract further industries whose promoters seek adequate supplies of labour. There is here action and reaction. Thus the urbanisation of England leads to conurbanisation. The whole country tends to be empatterned with starfish cities, feeling out towards each other and joining up at extreme points. This gives us the clue to future inter-diocesan relationship and to the principle upon which new dioceses ought to be formed for effective work.

§ III. But the greater the activity displayed in these localised church centres the greater will be

the need of a co-ordination of central ecclesiastical government departments, not acting at random but on some intelligent policy. This need is seen to be imperative when the Imperial Church is envisaged. The tendency of our population will bring the Imperial Church more and more into the foreground and in closer consultative touch with the home church. Something like a secretariat will have to be established permanently in London to form the clearing house for home and colonial christianity. The Imperial Conferences have given us a clue to the kind of technique that is best suited to the circumstances of the time and to the conditions of British Imperialism. Flexibility is the quality of the British Constitution and it will have to be the theory of any Imperial constitution of the British Church.

§ IV. But when all is said and done even the machinery that would arise is not an end in itself be it never so perfect. It is but a large-scale means towards the realisation in the world of the Divine Kingdom. That our Western civilisation has failed to express that Divine Kingdom is obvious from the events of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and from the challenge that is formulating itself in the East. We organise our lives round our purposes and thus form our characters. Our purposes depend upon our ultimate valuation. The East, during the twentieth century, has more and more declared that the "intentionally-organised self" which constitutes our civilisation is characterised by purposes and sanctions which are

not Christ's and which are inferior to His and to their's. Thus we find ourselves impelled to analyse out, as far as may be, those ideas of the ever-coming Kingdom which gave such an immeasurable spiritual impetus to political and social conceptions within the Roman Empire during its period of efflorescence.

(*c*)

POLITIC IN THE NEW TESTAMENT AND FATHERS

THE three great storehouses of political ideas are the Greek, the "Corpus Juris" of Roman Law, and the New Testament.

The importance of the Greek element is mainly that the Greeks were the first to criticise their institutions. The importance of the Roman is that it was a matured and refined jurisprudence, backed by the prestige of Ancient Rome and consolidated by the permanence the Church gave it.

The importance of the political theory of the New Testament is not fully realised in its relation to modern industrialised democracy.

Three Problems must be faced :—

(1) The fundamental character of man in society.

(2) The divine character of kingly power.

(3) The conception of property as a Trust.

"All men are basically equal, not in original endowments, but in rights to which they should have access. Christ urged a universal doctrine. All men are capable of salvation. This prevailed forming the political ideal of the New Testament.

Our task is to examine these three problems; to observe their development in the thought of the Fathers, and to estimate on what sort of future polity and final life, if any, they would seem to converge.

I. With the birth of Christianity there came a dogma which would have wrought a fundamental change in the structure of Society had it been practically applied.

But with the growth of Ecclesiasticism this was overlaid and the government of the Church did not correspond with it. Yet the idea went down as the main political contribution of the New Testament because one of the greatest geniuses this world has ever seen took it up and made it the basis of the Gentile mission. Paul preached "Neither bond nor free, Jew nor Greek, male nor female, but all one in Christ Jesus."

The Early Church should have taught the insistence of identity of all men all the world over, if it had extended this political theory without reservation. It would have transcended the limits of Nationalism and beaten down the frontiers of Class. It would have embraced all men without distinction of origin or birth. It would have overthrown the prevalent organisation of the time which was founded on slavery.

Aristotle had wholeheartedly defended slavery as in the nature of things. We should have expected the Fathers to have rejected it without equivocation or reservation of any sort.

As a matter of fact they did not reject it. They said slavery could be endured with fortitude on earth, for with God all men are equal, and therefore it is not deserving of the attention given to it. There is only one real life as there is only one world of reality. That life is the spiritual life and that world is the spiritual world. Slavery is only a token taken off in the world to come, and representing no real relationship to the mind. The conditions of slavery in the ancient world did not make this seem absurd—and we might remember that as late as the nineteenth century the S.P.G. Bishop Porteus of Jamaica defended it. In some instances, perhaps many, cruelty was barbarous and punishment unrestrained, but generally speaking there was kindness and fellowship in the household and genuine grief when death separated the Δεσποτής and Δοῦλος. Moreover a large proportion of the educated population were slaves. The Tutors were slaves. The Doctors were slaves. Epictetus was a slave and perhaps St. Luke. So that there was possibly a much fuller life within the circle of slavery than we sometimes think and this may account for why the Fathers were not shocked at it.

Anyway we have, it is certain,

(1) A Revolutionary Dogma about slavery in theory.

(2) A conservation of it in practice with the connivance of the Fathers.

What is the explanation.

It was partly due to the scattered character of the Church, partly to the fact that the slaves and disinherited were made hopeful as never before, partly because the Church itself was a *secret* society and wished to avoid scrutiny. But by far the most powerful cause was the expectation of the immediate second coming of Jesus Christ. The world and its desires were already passing παράγεται and the main thing was to do the will of God.

Later on, as this hope took its proper historical perspective and that Will of God was seen to be the true βασιλεία (*cf.* Lord's Prayer) there is no doubt also that, on the general principle of slavery, the Church came to urge the acceptance of what *is* on the ground of its unmeaning relationship to Eternity.

II. We come now to Politics where the most interesting problems await us. A perusal of the Sermon on the Mount, as the collected λογία of Christ and the theory of Law in Pauline thought, point to the τὸ ἀδυνατον or impotency of Law, the inability of Law to raise mankind. Men and women could not be made good by Act of Parliament. Nothing but grafting of the crab-apple or wild olive upon the sweet apple or olive tree, could ensure the flow of sweetening sap, the income of divine spirit, the χαρίσματα of Divine grace. Christ at His Resurrection had been marked out Son of God in power by the again-

rising from among the Dead. It was that Holiness of His, that Jesus-Life that was not dependent upon human law at all, that had moved the whole omnipotence of God to express his approval of δικαιοσύνη Θεοῦ and thusvindicate His own character. It was this that gave Jesus the victory; it was this that gave Jesus-Men the victory; but law was a sin-provoking, sin-suggesting thing, the strength of sin.

Thus all systems in which the secret is coercion are condemned. Anarchy is the ideal. We cannot get out of the difficulty by saying that the code of the Sermon is for Heaven and not Earth; we cannot call it the theory of Christianity and something else the practice. For the code itself would be obsolete when the Kingdom came. Then there would be no murder, theft, force, adultery, marriage, and such like things. Unless you suppose the code to be a system of Interims-Ethik, as Schweitzer did, you must apply it to this world, here and now.

And if you do you will revolutionize Society; if you did apply it to-day you would change the whole organisation of the present civilisation. Why did the Fathers not do so? For the same reason as in the case of the laws of slavery, but also because the New Testament had in other places emphasised the *divine right* of the existing order. The Emperor was not a god, but the whole Roman Régime was a wonderful machinery too admirable to be broken up.

This particular fact determined the whole character of later history. And, broadly speaking, it was true ever afterwards that those parts of Europe that remained outside the Roman Empire, like Ireland and North Germany, preserved their tribal traditions and organisation, and continually troubled the waters of peace unto this day. They did not harmonise with the civilisation that developed under Roman Law. And the paradox of St. Paul is that whereas he saw "inability" in this systematised and standardised life he nevertheless, as a Stoical philosopher might have done, preached a Fabian gospel of Political ethics. The explanation, *me judice*, lies in his belief in the rapid consummation or ἀνακεφαλαίωσις of Christ, that fruitful genetic idea of Irenaeus; coupled with the political facts of the moment.

He says civil power has divine sanction. Its functions are to promote wellbeing, to punish not the good but the wicked. Hence it must be obeyed.

So, too, pay taxes because the machinery of government is God's ordinance. In view of the second Advent and the Millenium, politics is a second-rate philosophy. In the Roman Church there were both Jews and Gentiles. The Jews had already by their turbulence been intensely difficult and troublesome to Rome. Rome had been extremely tolerant of them. The Roman World was enjoying the good government and bright hopes of Nero's Quinquennium. And Christ was at hand. There is nothing to be gained by

spoiling the present in the hope of bringing on a cataclysmic change in favour of the Christians.

Even when Peter wrote (1 P. ii. 13–17) after persecution had broken out against these Christians as κακοποίουντες right on into Clement's time when he wrote to the agitated Church of Corinth, the hope was not abandoned that by prayer for their persecutors, according to Christ's teaching, a better understanding might arise which would make it possible to capture the soul of Rome. Be that as it may, the custom of praying for the powers that be was established and is to be found in the writings of Justin Martyr, Clement of Rome, Polycarp, Theophilus, Tertullian, Athenagorus, Arnobius, and in all the liturgies including our own.

When St. Paul wrote in veiled language to the Thessalonians and wished to convey a definitive message about Nero he uses the singular *Καὶ νὺν τὸ κατέχον οἴδατε* " the check."

Here he uses the plural—*ἐξουσίαις, ὑπερχούσαις αἱ δε οὖσαι ὑπὸ θεοῦ τεταγμέναι εἰσίν.*

Sanday and Headlam point out that these are general directions, *i.e.*, directions of general public conduct like the contextual advice as to private dealings with one's neighbours and neighbourhood linked to them. He is not instructing *ex cathedra* as to what line should be taken where there is a conflict of authority. He is not defining where sovereignty lies. He simply says of this as of the other relations of society of which he is speaking that they must all be tested on the same anvil.

παρακαλῶ οὖν ὑμᾶς ἀδελφοι διὰ τῶν
οἰκτιρμῶν τοῦ θεοῦ παραστῆσαι τὰ σώματα
ὑμῶν, θυσίαν ζῶσαν ἁγίαν τῷ θεῷ
εὐαρεστον, τὴν λογικὴν λατρέιαν ὑμῶν.

Present yourselves a living sacrifice both in your public and private duties. Make *ἀγάπη* the standard of value. And as to the weaker, less hopeful members of society, remember the Lordship of Christ, *for the Lord is at hand.*

All this takes the edge off the thought of " powers that be " and gives an elastic content to the whole passage. It would serve as a ground text for those who preach a Christian Social Revolution. For it means nothing less than the impregnation of civilisation with " the greatest thing in the world " —LOVE.

And just as it is obviously bad exegesis to press this passage in support of such doctrines as Metternich's and Talleyrand's doctrine of Legitimacy, which supports alike Kaiser and Sultan, so with Acts ii. 44, it would be going too far to find Christian justification for the communistic propaganda of Lenin and Trotsky. But yet it is the classical passage on property, which seems to deny that private property has any right to exist. It does not say the things themselves should not exist, but only that a certain kind of economic control of them should not exist. To apply this would, of course, change the whole basis of societary organisation in these islands as it threatened to change

the societary régime based on slavery. It was therefore suggested that Communism is not compulsory but that property must be regarded as a Trust held for advantage of the mass of the brethren. It was said that in practice property means great material responsibility which impedes the spiritual life. This had been stressed by Christ—" How hardly shall they that have riches enter the Kingdom ! " Adam Smith brought out the same point in his *Wealth of Nations* published in 1776.

It should be noted, in passing, that the most modern and difficult problem of Economics is suggested here—namely, how to bring about a greater equality of incomes without reduction of productivity. (Dr. Dalton, *The Causes of the Inequality of Incomes*).

It is pointed out that the marginal utility of incomes of the rich is very small and very large for the poor (Professor Pigou, *Wealth and Welfare*).

Yet nineteenth century organisation of society was designed for a maximum of accumulation in the hands of a few. Against this populations were increasing everywhere—desiring material satisfaction—while our industrial organisation worked in the direction of storing up the wealth they so sorely needed. Professor Keynes (*Economic Consequences of the Peace*) shows this was perhaps the deepest cause of the war (1914–1918) to end war and that, because we are all so stupid, it has been made the basis of the Peace to end Peace.

The politico-economic significance of the nature of demand is that output is ruled not by truculent working classes but by power to demand. Power to demand is controlled by income. Income is vastly unequal and highly concentrated. Income is increasingly concentrated in a few hands. A hundredth part of the population control a half of the total national dividend. They therefore decide the quantity and kind of goods that shall be made. The poor cannot demand effectively even the necessities of life. They live in a vicious circle. Their conditions are miserable because they are poor and they are poor because they are miserable. You cannot get moneyed business people to see that the whole political and economic structure is likely to break down because the fundamental conditions, hopefulness, comfort, contentment, are being sapped by rotten social conditions.

And yet Jesus Christ is absolutely at one with modern economists in the stress He laid upon the value of each and every worker. On the side of production there is much more to be got out of workers that go singing to work, contented and happy, than in the spirit of hooter-called slaves. It would seem that a reasonable minimum of comfort distributed to the worker is necessary to obtain a maximum of productivity. There is nothing so certain as the catastrophic collapse of the present system, with all the suffering and retrogression that it will entail, unless the fundamental facts as to the Nature of Man in society are fearlessly faced and enforced by Christians. The

day when the Church of Christ had a choice between inertia and activity in this domain has passed.

III. The Fathers do not add much to what the New Testament writers have taught us. They represent a long evolution from St. Clement of Alexandria to St. Isidore, *i.e.*, a period of 600 years. During that time the Church was slowly making her way. We naturally find widely different interpretations and very little uniformity of political doctrine. You cannot therefore summarise the theory of the Fathers.

St. Augustine of Hippo was perhaps the greatest political thinker among them. In his controversy with the Donatist saints he said, " disobedience to the State was the greatest sin." This strong attitude is however to be taken in conjunction with an important fact about the Donatists. They were in opposition to the State not because they thought the State essentially a bad political unit, but because they could not capture it for their own ends. They asserted that the State and Church had nothing to do with each other. What they meant was that the State ought not to be used as an engine of religious suppression. The conversion of Augustine had not changed his sense of Rome's greatness as a civilising power and he saw that the Donatists were only non-political because they could not attain their ends by political means.

When we come to deal with the fundamental nature of man we find the Fathers assert the New Testament dogma. All men are equal in the eyes of God, all are on precisely the same footing.

They quoted Cicero, attacked all Roman and Greek writers on slavery in not going far enough in recognising the equality of men. But as slavery was part of the existing organisation of their world they set to work to evolve a theory about it. They had to solve this problem—"How can you be a Christian and have slaves?" It was just the same problem as that which brought the Northern and Southern States of America to war in 1861. They solved the problem with some skill. They laid down four propositions:—

(1st) All men are born free as God made them. They meant by that that no power can touch private thoughts and convictions. You need not reach God through any institution but only through your*self*. This is the only real freedom.

(2nd) Therefore if the only real freedom is internal freedom then external force is without importance, *i.e.*, Slavery is unrelated to what freedom means.

(3rd) But why then did slavery come into existence? It came through the wickedness of men. God punished them with slavery. To revolt against slavery is to revolt against the will of God and question His wisdom and justice. Slavery is therefore almost divine. It is really among all the bright and beautiful things of the divine order.

> "The rich man in his castle,
> The poor man at his gate,
> He made them high or lowly,
> And ordered their estate."

(4th) But it is not quite divine for there is the

duty of a master to treat a slave with kindness. This is good business to boot for slaves are valuable.

But apart from this, with this exception, to mitigate slavery is to interfere with the divine ordinance, to interrupt the divine plan, to resist the Will of God.

Some of the Fathers then argued in this strain and some in that.

Thus Ambrose says, "Slavery is the sentence of God on the wicked."

Gregory thinks it affords the opportunity of Masters to remedy this condition and so to acquire favour with God and get salvation for themselves.

This reads like the works of the ponderous Archdeacon Paley, upon whose head so many Cambridge undergraduates showered blessings in the ancient time when they had to pass in Paley's *Evidences of Christianity*. Here is one of his beliefs—"The existence of the poor is a divine order to enable the rich to exercise beneficence towards them."

Similarly we meet with the same kind of argument when the Fathers deal with the Government.

They start off with the anarchy of the New Testament doctrine. Absence of coercion is the only legitimate form of government; that is no government at all.

But Augustine in the *Civitas Dei* asserts that man is by nature a social being. Man fell from

Grace in Eden, *i.e.*, Man became sinful and coercion is God's answer to sin.

Therefore men must obey those that have power. On the other hand Irenaeus begins from the other end. He says boldly that all coercive government is divine. It is part of the existing order of the Universe. If it does exist as part of this order it must be God's will and therefore this government of coercion must be obeyed.

The argument converges again on the Divine ordinance of the powers that be, the doctrine that the State is a Divine institution.

But another diametrically opposite dogma begins to make its appearance. The Church is superior to the State. The origin of the State is Sin. It is born in sin. But the Church is born in the Sinless Son of God, nay in the mind of God and must therefore be superior. So that as soon as the machinery of the Church is strong enough to enforce this, there is ready to hand the doctrine of her superiority—and Augustine's dogma is thrown to the winds to be revived at the Reformation :—" The Church is the servant of the State." There you have grounds upon which Gregory Hildebrand made his claim. The Pope, as head of the Church, as Bishop of Rome, is superior to the Emperor as head of the State. But there was the difficulty that the Pope was only one among other Bishops —*Primus inter pares*—and not the superior over the whole body. Hence the later dogmas about the Pope as Vicar of God upon Earth, as infallibly

knowing the mind of God though elected by a conclave of Cardinals, almost always an Italian, sometimes supported by a pact with the State that happened to be most powerful. The text "Thou art Peter and upon this Peter I will build my Church," was emphasised at the expense of the other passages giving equal authority to all the disciples. That is, the theory did not originate in the text but the text was made to fit the theory.

We want to stress here the result of this evolution of New Testament political ideas. It resulted in two diametrically opposed political theories.

(1) The State is supreme, because it is ordained of God.

(2) The Church is supreme, because the State is born in sin, whereas the Church is born in Christ of the Holy Ghost.

There you have the background of the history of the world for 1000 years.

First the Pope and Emperor agreed to compromise, to mark off their spheres of activity. The Emperor was to administer the world. The Church was to supply the brains and direct its education.

Then the Popes got ambitious for temporal power. A long struggle ensued. The Pope swallowed the Emperor but collapsed in the effort at the very time he seemed most triumphant. With him broke up the *ancien Régime*, Europe split into pieces, and the modern world, with the rise of Democracy and Nationalism, resulted.

Lastly the Fathers got out of the private

property difficulty in much the same way as they got out of the tangle of slavery and government. It is legitimate to own property but it must of course be used for others—for service.

If the owner spends badly then he should forfeit his possessions, but if well then he is justified. St. Ambrose is the most outspoken of them. He did not believe in private property. He said :— "God gave all the world to men and some have by greed got property." This he regarded as illegitimate. However he goes on to say :—"if it is used well then let it alone for possession is ten points of the law and it is safer not to interfere." He came back to the quasi-Trust idea which is still the salve to many good people's conscience unto this day.

The conclusion which we have come to is that in face of the expectation of an early return of Christ two interim political ideas arose, which, if extended in time, must have led to opposite positions.

(1st) It is not worth while disturbing the existing régime. This is the basis of Christian Conservatism.

(2nd) We do not need more than sufficient to keep us all alive till He come and there is therefore no purpose in endeavouring to accumulate wealth which will be useless under the conditions of the parousia. This led to the communistic idea.

Both these systems are static in character.

When the Christian mission became dynamical, when the Judaic Christian Church of Jerusalem

began to ripen into the Antiochene Gentile Mission, the whole movement became dynamical.

The Fathers were faced with a problem not present among the earliest Christians. They had to think out a *modus operandi*—a policy—and in face of the enormous difficulties they tended to compromise, they pleaded *laissez faire* and shrank from applying Christianity neat to an unready world.

So that the Fathers did not really apply Christianity directly to the world problem of society, but only to the individual and to the Church. The Church of the Fathers therefore passed into the twilight ages. The Church that followed them was engrossed in taming the wilder peoples. She accomplished this task with the wonderful result that the Holy Roman Empire and the Papacy made a pact which held Europe together for a thousand years.

So that Christianity as a direct experiment in government was not made, and the force of Christian Ethic fell obliquely upon mankind.

The great experiment of the direct rule of Christ remains to be tried ; the Christian Theocracy is yet to come.

And if this experiment were tried on a large scale what would be the result ? Would it be a communistic world ? Even in the midst of the Roman Empire Plato's idea of community of goods in *The Republic* was an influence. The Pythagorean Brotherhoods had been communistic. Within the Jewish community the Essenes were a small

body of ascetics who despised riches and intermingled their possessions making them one patrimony. They did not buy from or sell to one another any commodities.

These ideas, merging with the first hopes of the Church, undoubtedly produced a type of life which might be described as semi-communistic. But the passage from small to large-scale Christianity very soon changed this to a large-scale attempt through Guild life to set up an organisation large enough to undertake that philanthropy and charity for which the organisation of Rome made no provision.

From the first the Kingdom of God was a large-scale idea and this fact alone rules out Communism which has never been and, we think, can never be a successful world organisation, at least until mankind has changed its nature.

How far was the idea embodied in Christianity communistic ? We find in the genuine communistic societies that members sold everything. Whereas all that the Christians seem to have done was to make their " frozen " resources of real property into liquid assets, just like a modern Bank, when a strain is suddenly put upon it. The first line of defence for the first church financiers, was, like our modern Banks, in liquid form. The custom of parting with everything does not seem, even in these primitive years, to have been universal. Joseph Barnabas of Cyprus is evidently an exceptional case. Ananias is condemned not for only giving half his property but for making out that he was giving everything. This incident

indeed tells directly against the Communists, for St. Peter says to him: "While it remained did it not remain thine own? Was it not in thy power? How is it that thou hast conceived this in thy heart?" That is to say it was not required of necessity that Ananias should sell all and give it to the common fund, but only that he should not make it appear that he was making a complete sacrifice when in reality he was keeping back a comfortable reserve.

When Christ spoke to the rich young ruler he did not speak of a compelling regulation. He only appealed to him. He did not run after him, but, looking upon him, loved him. In fact an exposition of the whole block of St. Matthew xix. and xx., which is a continuous narrative, reveals that Christ rebuked Peter who impulsively drew attention to the fact that the disciples had left all, not sold all, but left all and followed him.

The whole parable "about the Good" is a sermon on the character of God. The first penny represents the acquisitive character of men, the last, not the improvident character of the unemployable, but the gracious character of the Heavenly Father. It throws up into relief the absurdity of those who owe so much to the Gracious One, and are yet unconscious of their duty to the poor and miserable whose burden they might do something to lighten. If our aim is to increase the economic welfare of the poor that would receive Christ's blessing; and if this is so that blessing would be extended far beyond mere at-random alms; it would rest

on the scientific thinking which, without fear of the consequences, sought to extract what was good in individualism and in socialism without much regard for the exterior of the platter.

The Classical Economists of the earlier part of the nineteenth century, following J. B. Say, overstressed the side of Production. They concerned themselves with a biography of goods. The production, distribution, and consumption of goods, regarded as the birth, life, and death of goods. Their economics concerned itself with exchangeable things and not with the people whom those things were produced to satisfy. The wealth of mankind, or mankind's condition of being well, was lost sight of, and economics took a wrong turning.

It was the Austrian School of Economists stressing the doctrine of "utility at the boundary," which threw into prominence the real subject matter of Economics. This is of course man and the conditions under which his creaturely needs may be satisfied. The imperfect doctrine of distribution held by the classical economists dealt not with individual incomes but categories.

Thus Professor Cannan was a pioneer in economic thought when he called the classical doctrine of rent per acre, profits per cent., and wages per head, pseudo-distribution. His epoch-making article upon the Division of Income and his analysis of the Austrian School's contribution to this subject brought both the doctrine of value and distributive-economics into their proper perspective and balanced the departments of economic science.

Productivity was seen to be the central idea on the side of Production and *economic welfare* of individuals the *raison d'être* of Distribution. This line of thought has been further developed in Professor Pigou's great works and by Dr. Dalton in his book *The Inequalities of Income*. But the pivotal point remains where Professor Cannan placed it.

We see that at the roots of economic science lies the faculty of man's intelligence and judgment. Very deep moral sanctions are involved. It is from the accuracy of judgment, from unselfish application of principles known to be productive of economic welfare to the many that health, wealth, and happiness will flow into the world. If we may say so it is just upon these great principles that Jesus Christ concentrated, and we believe that his compassion for the poor, the travail of his soul, will be better satisfied by our honest thinking along these lines than along those communistic paths which propose by envy, hatred, malice, and all uncharitableness to usher in Utopia. There is no short cut to welfare. It must be worked for and thought for. It cannot be fought for. It is upon work and thought that Christ's blessing rests.

It would seem reasonable to suppose that while Christ would still exhort us to be merciful, charitable, and tender-hearted, he would, under industrial democracy, prefer us to remove as far as possible the causes which tend to create objects of charity.

(*d*)

SOVEREIGNTY ON EARTH

The Divine Right of Kings was a theological doctrine before it became a political one. In essence it is still a theological dogma, for only in the sphere of theological science does it now exist. It was revived at the Reformation, when some authority that would be obeyed had to be set up to prevent disruption.

The first stage in its extinction as a political doctrine was Austin's theory of sovereignty. The other stages in its decline were the 1689 revolution in England and the 1789 revolution in France. In its place came the political doctrine of the infallible sovereign will of the people. The sovereignty of the people is, like Austin's theory of sovereignty, a mere device which gives rise to a theoretical governance very far removed from practical truth. The whole domain of sovereignty lies in the realm of the abstract. It rests upon definitions that may be legally perfect and logically cohesive but behind these definitions lie assumptions. An examination of these assumptions reveals that normal doctrines of sovereignty do not square with experience and that they are only valid under the circumstances and for the rough-and-ready purposes for which they were set up. In fact it is quite clear that a state is conceivable in which there is no sovereignty other than a perfect general will but it is a theoretical state.

The following propositions will be argued :—

(1) That the conception of legal sovereignty breaks down and abrogates itself.

(2) That the absolute sovereignty of the people is equally impossible in any earthly community.

(3) That there can be no absolute sovereignty other than that arising from the voluntary obedience of mankind to the Will of God, and that the conception of the Kingdom of God which Christ adopted is the only one which can ever move mankind as a whole to a perfect reaction.

I

Before we can proceed far with this argument we must know what we mean by the terms employed.

What is a State and what is Sovereignty?

What is a State? Professor Laski defines a state as "A territorial society divided by a government on the one hand and subjects on the other." It issues rules, acts of government. These rules originate in the mind of the government and derive their force from the fact that the government issues its will in that direction. This definition excludes trade unions, churches, clubs, freemasons' lodges, etc. These are not territorial.

What is sovereignty? It is *a* power to will acts of universal reference. It has the habit of being obeyed because its members cannot resign. This excludes sovereignty from Trade Unions, Churches, Masonic Lodges, and so forth.

The clerical disabilities act enables clerks in

Holy Orders to relinquish their Orders and become laymen. The Church may say "once a priest always a priest" but from the legal side, that is against legal sovereignty, the Church has no power to enforce this view. Again the Church may insist that "Those whom God has joined together" are married "till death doth them depart." But the State has a Divorce Law which says we will allow you to dissolve this marriage but you must commit adultery first. The Church says "if you commit adultery We will not allow you to re-marry." The Church cannot enforce its will because its members can resign. The State can enforce its will because its members cannot resign and because it possesses sanctions which compel obedience.

But is this always so? We shall argue that it is not. For when the miners came out on strike could the Cabinet drive them back under penalty of a fine for every day they remained out on strike? No. For the fines could not be collected and the men could not be driven underground to work. Dicey points out that the King in Parliament is sovereign but that there is a political check upon this sovereignty. Neither the King in Parliament nor the Cabinet could will acts of universal reference that go to the limit of things. Strikes during the war were made illegal yet the Welsh miners came out on strike and the Cabinet decided not to put the Act into operation. Why? Because it could not enforce it. It was not a sovereign body. The same limitation comes out with regard to

conscription and conscientious objectors, the Irish Sinn Feiners, the hunger-strikers and so on.

As a matter of fact it is true to say with St. Paul that there is an " inability " about Law, and therefore there is an " inability " about sovereignty which is a legal theory, a legal device.

If there is a sovereign power, competent to will acts of universal reference, competent to lay down a code of laws which represents the essential features of the good life, it would be able to force the members of the State to lead the good life according to its definitions. But it cannot do so. The Jewish State tried it and failed. It departed from the Theocratic State and as Samuel saw this was a retrogression. Legal sovereignty cannot make men obey its rules except in so far as they are willing to do so. What and where is the sovereignty that can do so ? None exists on the earth. The alternative is an anarchic society or the Kingdom of God.

It is clear that legal sovereignty breaks down on the moral side.

There are two maxims. There is the Roman definition of Law.

(1) *Jus est quod jusum est.* It is law because it is so commanded. It proceeds from the power to command.

(2) *Jus est quod justitia est.* This relates the idea of Justice to the idea of Law and raises the question of " What is justice ? "

Here we move into moral philosophy. Hegel theorised that right is on the side of authority

because the State stands for order and the preciousness of order outweighs everything else. Therefore it is our duty to obey the powers that be.

Again Burke argues that change is so slow that practical politics on the one hand and ordinary experience on the other have worked out *what is* because *what is* is good. "Whatever is is right" —it is the considered wisdom of past generations. Yet every great reform abrogates this principle. These arguments buttress legal theory and ordered morality and give moral justification to the state. The State is the largest aspect of ourselves, man in his ultimate series of relationships. We are members of a family, a church, a trade union, a Masonic lodge, but the State embraces all this as the outermost of a number of concentric circles. Thus the State wills what we ought to will and therefore we ought to obey its commands. That is "whatever is is right" because it is ordered by the Government. So that no revolution is right. But there have been revolutions upon which most modern States now rest. Is it right to obey the legal sovereignty which arose through those revolutions or ought we to obey the sovereignty which existed before it was overthrown? We are led into a dilemma by trying to philosophise about the moral justification for the State.

Further if we analyse the legal theory of sovereignty we find at the back of it there are certain assumptions.

(1) That every state has got within it a

sovereign. Where does it reside—this power that can will acts of universal reference? The determinate political superior constitutes the sovereign power. But we have seen that there are in actual experience limits which this power cannot reach.

(2) That Sovereign Authority when found must be a definite superior which is cognisable. It must be such as is habitually obeyed by people and such that it does not obey anybody else. Thus an employer is not a sovereign. The King is not a sovereign. But the King in Parliament is a sovereign. Yet this sovereignty rests on an Act of Parliament and can be done away by the Authority which set it up.

(3) That there is no use having a Sovereign who need not be obeyed. To be a Sovereign he must therefore issue commands. To secure obedience to these commands he must have means to hand to secure obedience. This entails a sanction or penalty, pain, to all who resist the Sovereign. Yet it is by resistance to the sanctions imposed that reform takes place, and wherever there is reform of laws the sovereignty is challenged, often with impunity, frequently with success.

(4) There is a legal obligation on your part to do what the Sovereign tells you to do. That is that there is a sovereign right—in the legal sense. But as we have seen this consideration leads to a dilemma.

These are assumptions which underlie the sovereignty of States and there has never been a sovereignty that squares with the assumptions.

But let us ask *must* a State, in order to be a State, have an organ to issue orders that go to the limit of things?

There are two types in which there are no organs of sovereignty.

(1) The confederal government of the United States of America which is juristically like a railway company.

(2) Where there is a written constitution and no power in the community to alter it.

Under the former of these the President of the U.S.A. and the Chairman of the Railway Company are juristically on a par.

The President of U.S.A. like every other power in U.S.A. is limited. So that formally the U.S.A. is not a State. Yet U.S.A. goes through all the gestures of a State which is a world power. But every organ in U.S.A. is limited, and therefore it is a State without sovereignty. But U.S.A. refused to join the League of Nations lest its sovereignty should be curtailed. Here we have a State with no sovereign organ which yet functions as a first class world power intensely conscious of its sovereign right.

Under the latter head we find Canada with no power to alter the Act 1867. It is, therefore, not a State, if a State to be a State must have a sovereign organ. But Australia under the Commonwealth Act 1900 can alter its constitution

by referendum. So that if a State must have a sovereign organ, Canada is not a State but Australia is a State. Yet obviously one is as much a State as the other, and the theory that there must be a sovereign power in a State abrogates itself. The legal Theory of Sovereignty breaks down.

II

THE WILL OF THE PEOPLE

Professor Dicey in his *Law of the Constitution* distinguishes between Political and Legal sovereignty. He makes the Political sovereignty represent the Will of the People. But he suggests that one of the duties of the Government is to suggest topics for popular enlightenment. It is by suggestion that the Will of the People is made and therefore political sovereignty really resides with those who are able to mould the popular will. In Low's *Governance of England*, which was a brilliant sketch of the constitution actually at work, lists of names are given showing that those who pull the strings in politics are of a socio-political aristocratic class whatever be the government of the day.

One of the points made by the Webbs, Mr. D. G. H. Cole and Lenin is that even when this will is expressed it is not a clear will. It is a verdict given on a multiplicity of issues and even then a Parliament which is elected for five years speedily gets out of touch with the popular will, forsakes

its mandate, cannot be called to book, and continues to engage in legislation upon entirely different matters.

Going more deeply into the question of the political will of the people it is pointed out by more advanced opinion still that parliamentary democratic institutions are an organised hypocrisy, a clever plan which the bourgeoisie have devised to keep the real ruling power in their hands. When the old feudal nobility passed away the merchants, that new and strange kind of gentlemen as Dr. Johnson described them in his dictionary, hit upon parliamentary institutions and have maintained their ascendancy by this means.

They have succeeded in this in three ways :—

(1) By the platform.
(2) By the Press.
(3) By a system of popular education.

As the platform of the days of Gladstone and John Bright has lost its power the Press has increased its value as an opinion-making machine. It is still increasing in power and effectiveness. But what sort of power is at the back of it ? It may not be a reptile press, though the Government or members of it buy up whole groups of papers and serve out to them political news. Yet who can run a successful paper on a large scale to-day ? Only those who can afford to risk hundreds of thousands of pounds, who can be assured of a large circulation and so of a large revenue from advertisements. These are the rich classes. To-day successful journalism is the way

to honours, wealth, and political power. And it is the monopoly of the rich. Thus political power and social position as rooted in economic strength, and the opinion-making machines in the hands of Northcliffe's millionaires are the makers of the sovereign will of the people. " The Will of the people " is a term which connotes little fact. It is not real. The sovereign will of the people is a myth.

But this is not all. Our popular educational system is planned so that the children of the working classes, except for an insignificant majority, leave school at about the age of fifteen years. Another class of public school boys, passing through to the Universities, leave their studies at the age of twenty-three. Who are these boys ? They are the children of the well-to-do and professional classes. The result is that all the most dominating positions in the politico-administrative world, in the professions and civil service, fall to this class. These become the rulers of the country and are allied with the press and the government. Within the bosom of a single state we continually create a subject and a dominant race. This has been done by our educational system and it is being strengthened by the cinema. Now we are not arguing about whether this is all for the best or otherwise. It may be, as Aristotle would have argued, as Sir Henry Maine has argued, not an injustice but " in the nature of things."

All that we are concerned here to show is that

the much vaunted *Vox populi vox dei* is a hollow meaningless cry, untrue to the facts of real life.

III

But further on the moral side earthly sovereignty resting upon law breaks down even more completely. For here we come upon the question of sin. We must distinguish between crime and sin. Crimes are breaches of the law of which Law Courts will take cognisance. But many of these are not sins in the sense of moral faults. On the other hand many moral faults are not within the cognisance of the courts. This points to a higher sovereignty other than any on earth.

In fact the question of sin brings us to a consideration of guilt; and it becomes obvious that no person can be fully charged with any sin by any court on the earth, for no earthly tribunal can know all the concomitants which produced the sin. Omniscience alone can fully charge the guilt, and no sovereign power in any earthly state is omniscient. The limits of sovereignty are shown by moral considerations to reside in the Ultimate τὸ ὄν, ἀρχή, πηγὴ θεοτήτα the Theocratic Monarchia. Thus the moral theory of sovereignty also breaks down. There is no absolute sovereignty either in the State or in the Church. For absolute sovereignty carries with it the power to fully charge and fully forgive.

PART III

The Divine Kingdom

1. The Synoptic View. Mark iv. 10–34
2. The Pauline View. Ephesians i. 9–14.
3. The Johannine View. 1 John iii. 1–3.

"I do not fear The Day of Judgment; I fear The Day of No-Judgment."

Burke.

THE SOVEREIGNTY OF JESUS

When theologians used to speak of Eschatology in the nineteenth century they generally meant only the doctrines of Death, Judgment, Hell, and Heaven. But the rise of the Eschatological School in the early twentieth century entirely changed the content of the word. The researches of Canon Charles in England, Gressman in Germany, Cumont and Reitzenstein and many others abroad, gave the term a wider connotation. The study became directed towards an elucidation of the Apocalyptic writings in their relation to Christ's concept of the Kingdom of God.

But long before this time the writer of *The Expansion of England*, Professor Seeley, contributed his remarkable study of *Ecce Homo*. In that book Professor Seeley pointed out that whereas the Jews of the time of Jesus were dreaming of the revival of the glories of the age of Solomon, which had passed away a thousand years before, Jesus was wrestling with the problems of his own time. To him the Kingdom was in the past, in the present, and in the future. Its foundations had been laid before the world was made. It was nevertheless "this day fulfilled in your ears." Its coming was also to be prayed for. The Centurion received Christ's commendation for recognising the silent working of the hidden kingdom through Him and for recognising the impotency of that empire then working out its destiny through

Caesar. This is very important for it throws into opposition the sovereignty of Caesar and the sovereignty of Christ.

If we analyse such a ground passage as Mark iv. 10–34, we shall be able to estimate the validity of certain theories that have been put forward to explain the concept of the Kingdom of God.

(1) We shall see that Canon Streeter's Theory of Eschatological Evolution in the synoptic Gospels does not hold.

(2) We shall find Schweitzer's interpretation of Christ as one who was impelled by an apocalyptic consciousness and sense of his own relation to the Kingdom of God to attempt to bring in the Kingdom during his own age also breaks down.

(3) An analysis of the psychology of

(*a*) The Temptation

(*b*) Matthew xi. 25–30

reveals quite a different mind whose spirit agrees with the Sermon on the Mount.

(4) The Theocratic Kingdom of which Christ spoke was not a kingdom, like worldly kingdoms resting on laws and constitutions, which change from place to place and age to age. But its concept was a paradoxical ethic extracted from the realm of reality yet an "interimsethik" in a certain sense. Here is the justification of Christ's claim to an eternal sovereignty.

[1] If these propositions are proved, Christ relied not on Revolutions but upon the outworking of principles.

II

Exposition of St. Mark iv. 10–34

(*a*) development of the eschatological element in Q, Mark, and Matthew.

St. Mark iv. 10–34.

(*Following Dr. Moffat's translation.*)

INTERPRETATION OF THE PARABLE OF THE SOWER

(Matthew xiii. 10–23, Luke viii. 9–5, Mark iv. 10–12.)

When he was by Himself His adherents and the twelve asked him about the parables and He said to them :

> " The open secret of the Realm of God is granted to you, but these outsiders get everything by way of parables, so that
>
> > ' for all their seeing they may not perceive and for all their hearing they may not understand lest they turn and be forgiven.' "

Mark iv. 13–20.

And He said to them :

> " You do not understand this parable ? Then how are you to understand the other parables ? The sower sows the word. As for those ' on the road,' when the seed is sown there—as soon as they hear it, Satan at once comes and carries off the word sown within

them. Similarly those who are sown 'on stony soil' are the people who on hearing the word accept it with enthusiasm ; (omitting εὐθύς with D. Sin. Sy. OLL. and western authorities) but they have no root in themselves, they do not last ; the next thing is that when the word brings trouble or persecution, they are at once repelled.

Another set are those who are sown 'among thorns' ; they listen to the word, but the worries of the world and the delight of being rich and all the other passions come in to choke the word ; so it proves unfruitful.

As for those who were sown 'on good soil' these are the people who listen to the word and take it in and bear fruit at the rate of thirty, sixty, and a hundredfold."

This passage is common to all the Synoptists.

Q.

Mark iv. 21–25.

He also said to them :

"Is a lamp brought to be placed under a bowl or a bed ?

Is it not to be placed upon the stand ?

Nothing is hidden except to be disclosed.

Nothing concealed except to be revealed.

If anyone has ears to hear, let him listen to this."

Also he said to them :

"Take care what you hear ; the measure

you deal out to others will be dealt out to yourselves, and you will receive extra. For he who has, to him shall more be given ;

While as for him who has not,

From him shall be taken even what he has."

Luke xix., 26 appends this last logion to the parable of the pounds.

PARABLE OF THE SEED GROWING SECRETLY, OR THE FRUIT-BEARING EARTH.

Mark iv. 26–29.

And he said :

" It is with the Realm of God as when a man has sown seed on earth ; he sleeps at night and rises by day, and the seed sprouts and shoots up—he knows not how. (For the earth bears crops by itself, the blade first, the ear of corn next, and then the grain full in the ear.) But whenever the crop is ready, he has the sickle put in at once, as harvest has come."

THIS PARABLE IS PECULIAR TO ST. MARK.

Q.

Mark iv. 30–32.

He said also :

" To what can we compare the Realm of God ? how are we to put it in a parable ? It is like a grain of mustard seed—less than any seed on earth when it is sown on earth ; but

> once sown, it springs up to be larger than any plant, throwing out such big branches that the wild birds can roost under its shadow."

In many a parable like this he spoke the word to them, so far as they could listen to it; he never spoke to them except by way of parable, but in private he explained everything to his own disciples.

This passage, Mark iv. 10–34, contains therefore four parables.

1. The Sower.
2. The Lamp and the Modius.
3. The Seed growing in secret.
4. The Mustard Seed.

Without adopting Wendling's grouping, we note that Mr. Williams (Oxford Studies in the Synoptic Problem) agrees with him in assigning to Q :—

> The simile of the lamp and the modius, together with the chain of sayings (21–25), and the parable of the mustard-seed (30–32).

But even then we are far from certain that we are on a solid jumping-off ground. We are not at all positive that (21–25) and (30–32) were in Q; in fact there is considerable reason to believe otherwise. "For it is generally agreed that the use of a common source written in Greek is the necessary explanation of the Gospels in sections containing matter not found in Mark. To this document the name of Q is usually given" (Lake).

So that the sayings in Mark iv. 21–25, and the parable of the mustard seed would not be in Q.

Nevertheless we will make this passage, Mark iv. 10–34, a point of departure for the discussion of the three principal questions that arise out of the study of the synoptic eschatology, assuming for the sake of the argument that these verses were in Q, which is questionable.

(*a*) It illustrates the fact that we do not find, nor can we legitimately expect to find, a homogeneous eschatology in the Synoptic Gospels. The Gospels themselves are not homogeneous but composite. This is agreed. The documentary hypothesis is sufficiently well established for us to adopt it as the basis of exposition without discussion of the literary and historical grounds upon which it rests. Canon Streeter in his paper in the *Oxford Studies in the Synoptic Problem* entitled "The Literary Evolution of the Gospels" has worked out the view that the literary evolution of the Synoptic Gospels exhibits three well defined stages. These stages represent three distinct periods of primitive Christianity and answer to the demand of each for some account of Christ. The hypothetical document Q represents the earliest stage in primitive Jewish Christian circles, where the demand was for an account of Our Lord's relation to John the Baptizer, to current Pharisaism, possibly to Gentiles, and an account of His teaching about the Kingdom of God. There was no demand for an account of His antecedents or the details of His life and death, since in this circle these were matters of common knowledge.

The Gospel of St. Mark represents the second

stage answering the demand of a circle outside Jewish limits for some knowledge of the historical facts of Our Lord's life. It was intended to supplement but not to supersede Q.

The third stage is seen in the work of St. Matthew and St. Luke. They reflect a demand for a complete life of Christ, giving all the available information about Him, and superseding, as St. Luke's prologue avows, previous attempts.

This theory of evolution along the line Q-Mark-Matthew-Luke, does not seem to us very convincing. We are not on *terra firma* when we posit any theory of development with Q as a starting point. Dr. Sanday has expressed agreement with Canon Streeter's theory in the Foreword of *Oxford Studies in the Synoptic Problem.* But it is a theory which is not accepted by some great authorities, notably Dr. Arthur Wright, Vice-President of Queens' College, Cambridge, who is an acknowledged authority on the Synoptists. The following criticism is from his pen and is extracted from a communication to the present writer on this matter :—

Extract.

> " I do not think highly of Streeter's attempt to trace evolution by taking ' Q ' as older than St. Mark. The idea that ' St. Mark ' originated at Caesarea and was unknown in Jerusalem is untenable. The Church in Jerusalem was enormously large and very active. Thousands of children were born in

it and needed education. The history of our Lord was better adapted to their need than the Sayings. St. Mark's Gospel is the base of three Gospels and is much used by the Fourth. 'Q' had no such wide circulation. St. Peter started everything in the early days, St. Mark was simply his dragoman. But in any case the first (oral) origins of St. Mark and 'Q' must have been too near together to allow time for much development. The tendency in modern times is to dispense with history. The express testimony of Papias is ignored. The Gospels are reconstructed from internal evidence only. That is the mistake which St. Augustine made, with results disastrous to the present time."

It is our business to deal with the further thesis in which Canon Streeter thinks that it is possible to see in these three stages of literary evolution of the Gospels a corresponding development in their eschatology. (Appendix: *Synoptic Criticism and the Eschatological Problem*, pp. 424-436.) The development theory, as advanced here by Canon Streeter, can, he suggests, be focussed upon the logion which occurs in :—Mark viii. 38, Matthew xvi. 27, and Luke xii. 9 (also Matthew x. 33).

In Mark viii. 38, we have :—

"Whoever is ashamed of me and my words in this disloyal and sinful generation, the Son of Man will be ashamed of him when he comes in the Glory of His Father with the holy angels."

Matthew xvi. 27, develops still further and *omits* the first half of the saying ("whoever is ashamed of me and my words in this disloyal and sinful generation") in which originally lay the whole point.

Matthew then elaborates the eschatological residue :—

> "When he comes in the Glory of His Father with the holy angels," and adds :—"and then He will reward everyone for what he has done."

Thus Matthew xvi. 27, reads :—"For the Son of Man is coming in the Glory of His Father with His angels and then He will reward everyone for what he has done."

On Canon Streeter's theory therefore, "Matthew completely changes the whole character of the saying, drops its moral, and makes it into a purely apocalyptic prophecy." (p. 429 Canon Streeter holds that "the series Luke xii. 9, Mark viii. 38, Matthew xvi. 27, gives in epitome the eschatological evolution in the Gospels.")

This of course implies that a certain amount of the eschatological teaching given as our Lord's is not literally His, but a development of His genuine teaching along lines which the writers considered to be the trend of our Lord's teaching. Expressed briefly this theory is that in Q our Lord is represented as teaching that the Kingdom of God is a present thing to be extended by a gradual development. The future and catastro-

phic aspect of the Kingdom is implied but not worked out.

In Mark the stress is thrown on the catastrophic aspect of the Kingdom. The principal passage supporting this view is the 13th Chapter. "Mark xiii. dominates the eschatology of the second Gospel and through him that of the two later gospels—especially that of Matthew (p. 428), Matthew xxiv.–Luke xxi."

In Matthew this tendency is developed and enhanced, as is proved, on Canon Streeter's view, both by characteristic *additions* and *omissions*. "The eschatological language of the Master becomes more and more conformed to the apocalyptic picture which was cherished by the Early Church."

I. While there seems some support for this view in a comparison of the eschatological passages in Q, Mark, and Matthew, there is also much that is not compatible with it. In the first place there is the extremely hypothetical nature of Q. This makes any inference from Q's omissions doubly uncertain. It is difficult to be certain of the contents of Q and hence far more difficult to say what Q did not contain. It would be difficult to prove that Q contained nothing corresponding to the 13th of Mark.

The analyses of Mark xiii. in Dr. Charles' great work *Eschatology Hebrew, Jewish, and Christian* (p. 384), and Canon Streeter's exposition *Oxford Studies in the Synoptic Problem*, pp. 179–183, do not seem conclusive on this point. In our support

we may quote the words of Mr. H. P. Williams from the latter volume (pp. 416–417) :—

> " I cannot feel, however, that the theory which sees in Mark xiii. a Jewish or Jewish Christian Apocalypse pseudonymously attributed to our Lord rests upon any sure foundations. This hypothesis certainly provides an explanation of the facts, but is there any proof that this explanation is the true one ? May not the ' Little Apocalypse ' theory be merely another case of Ptolemaic astronomy ? . . . But all these facts warrant us in concluding is that in Mark xiii. we have to deal with an apocalyptic source. There is no proof, so far as I know, that Mark xiii. ever existed as a separate document, and to suppose that our Lord ' could ' not have used the language attributed to Him is surely to beg the question. . . . There seems no reason why we should not suppose that the apocalyptic passage is drawn from one of the (probable) numerous forms of ' Q ' current in the first century."

II. Further, it is somewhat hazardous to deny the authenticity of the 13th of Mark as a further inference from these premises. It is certainly a logical inference if the premises be granted. If Q does present the " mild " and indeterminate type of eschatology alleged, and this type of eschatalogy does more truly represent our Lord's eschatological point of view, then it is a natural inference that the 13th of Mark and the still more developed discourses of Matthew 24–25 represent the apocalyptic

of the primitive Jewish Church rather than our Lord's actual teaching.

But Canon Streeter himself has allowed that the strong element of definite apocalyptic in the primitive church demands a similar element in our Lord's teaching to account for its persistence. *Oxford Studies in the Synoptic Problem*, p. 433 :—

> "The argument, however, must not be pushed to the length of entirely eliminating the apocalyptic element from the authentic teaching of our Lord. The belief of the early church may have modified and did modify the records of His utterances, but it is too great a paradox to maintain that what was so central in the belief of the primitive church was not present, at least in germ, in what the Master taught. The problem does not admit of any cut and dried solution."

III. But again, apart from Canon Streeter's own admission, is it a fact that in Mark greater stress is thrown on cataclysmic ideals than in Q, and that Matthew by additions and omissions still further emphasises them ? Putting Q on one side as really an unknown quantity, we may compare Matthew, Mark and Luke.

(A) Take Canon Streeter's selected passage :—

Mark viii. 38, Matthew xvi. 27, Luke xii. 9.

> "Whosoever therefore shall be ashamed of me and of my words in this adulterous and sinful generation ; of him also shall the

> Son of Man be ashamed when he cometh in the glory of his Father with the holy angels."
>
> —Mark viii. 38.
>
> "For the Son of Man shall come in the glory of His Father with his angels; and then he shall reward every man according to his works."—Matthew xvi. 27.
>
> "But he that denieth me before men shall be denied before the angels of God."
>
> —Luke xii. 9.

It will be observed that Matthew's addition is that Christ will be the final Judge of all men. But in Mark the passage is already apocalyptic and therefore Matthew's addition makes no difference at all so far as the idea of a closing cataclysm is concerned.

Further Luke xii. 9, is not the parallel of Mark viii. 38, whereas Luke ix. 26 is, and it is nothing more than the substance of Mark viii. 38.

> "For whosoever shall be ashamed of me and of my words, of him shall the Son of Man be ashamed, when He shall come in his own glory, and in his Father's and of the holy angels."

It is clear therefore that an examination of these passages does not substantiate Canon Streeter's theory.

(B) Again let us consider Matthew xxiv. and Mark xiii.

(*a*) Mark xiii. and Matthew xxiv. are in substance identical and from internal evidence alone do not yield a positive conclusion on the lines adopted by Canon Streeter.

(*b*) Christ is Judge.

(i) Of his professed servants in Matthew xxiv. 45–51 and xxv. 1–30. But this is implied also in Mark xiii. 33 ff.

(ii) Of all men in Matthew xxv., but this is not in Mark.

(iii) Matthew has much more than Mark as to the idea of delay of the end, *e.g.*, Virgins, Talents, Tyrannous upper servant. Such a corruption as this last predicates would take much time. A long history of the *βασιλεία* is implied. Matthew and Mark have the saying that the Gospel must be preached to all nations. Mark xiii. 10, implies a delayed *παρουσία* and Matthew, far from omitting this, emphasises the idea. It should also be noted that the Matthaean matter referred to above is not in Luke and so was perhaps not in Q. This goes against Canon Streeter's idea that Matthew more conforms to the expectation of a speedy advent. Again Luke xxi. 24, which is not in Matthew, and so not apparently from Q, also implies a long day of grace after the events of 70 A.D.

We conclude therefore that the reports of the eschatological discourse in Mark xiii. and Matthew xxiv. tell against Canon Streeter rather than support his theory of development.

IV. Moreover Schweitzer's reconstruction of the consciousness of Christ from a purely apocalyptic point of view, even though much exaggerated by need of special pleading, has shown clearly that

many obscure points in our Lord's sayings are best explained by the admission that current apocalyptic had an important place in His thought and outlook.

Hence, even if Canon Streeter were right, we should be unable to regard the apparently greater emphasis on the catastrophic view of the Kingdom in Mark and Matthew as not representing the genuine teaching of Christ.

On the other hand it is equally impossible to go all the way with Schweitzer and to regard our Lord's attitude towards the Kingdom of God and His teaching as wholly determined and explained by current apocalyptic expectations. The ethical element in the teaching and the clear thought of the Kingdom as present, and as destined to develop by gradual growth, are too obvious to dispose of. As with St. Paul's theology so with our Lord's teaching the demand for logical consistency cannot be satisfied without doing violence to the records which we have.

Taking then the passage for exposition, we find either present in the passage, or suggested by comparison with the parallels in Matthew and Luke, all the crucial elements in our Lord's eschatological teaching as found in Q (possibly) and in Mark and Matthew (certainly).

I. Representing Q we have verses 21–25 and 30–32. (But see above—Lake).

II. Representing the Marcan tradition we have the parable of the sower and its interpretation, a

section taken over by Matthew and Luke, and the parable of the seed growing secretly, peculiar to Mark.

III. The Matthaean point of view may be reached by noting Matthew's *additions* to this block of discourse, and his *omissions*.

Neither of the Q passages offer any distinct points supporting a catastrophic point of view, but it is to be noted that St. Luke appends v. 25 to his parable of the pounds where it has apparently a catastrophic significance in connection with the Parousia. Luke xix. 26: "'Sir,' they said, 'he has fifty already!' 'I tell you, to everyone who has shall more be given, but from him who has nothing, even what he has shall be taken.'"

The parable of the sower common to all the synoptists, together with its interpretation, obviously presents no catastrophic features, but it is to be noted that this parable is not marked as a similitude of the kingdom in any of the six parables intended as similitudes.

The parable of the seed growing secretly has been claimed by those who deny the apocalyptic conception of the Kingdom as present in our Lord's teaching. But this parable clearly combines both conceptions, the gradual growth and the swift consummation of the harvest.

Lastly the additions of S. Matthew are of a double character, being partly of a catastrophic type, such as the interpretation of the parables of the tares and the drag-net, and partly of an indeterminate type, such as the two parables of

the treasure and the pearl which do not suggest catastrophic features. *Hence the assumed tendency features of S. Matthew are not entirely satisfactory, they do not work out logically.* We do not find such an excision of non-catastrophic features as we should have expected.

On the other hand, perhaps, Q shows the presence of sayings whose original context we cannot determine, but which may very well have stood in a context which gave them a definitely catastrophic significance.

Hence an examination of such a typical passage does not lead us to suppose that we can assume in our Lord's teaching an absence of apocalyptic elements and of a definitely catastrophic view of the coming of the Kingdom. *It does not seem possible to disentangle the catastrophic conception from that view of the Kingdom which regards it as present and as maturing by a process of growth.*

And so we may conclude that the lack of homogeneity which we find in the records of the eschatological teaching of our Lord is not primarily due to the different sources of the Gospels, although a heightening of contrasts may be due to this cause, but is rather due to the presence in our Lord's teaching of two elements, apparently incompatible with one another. *We are therefore forced back to the examination of attempts to explain the phenomena by reconstruction, not of literary sources, but of our Lord's consciousness.*

(*b*) THE RELATION OF OUR LORD'S CONSCIOUSNESS TO CURRENT APOCALYPTIC

Our investigation in the foregoing led to the conclusion that the assumed tendency features which Canon Streeter posits of St. Matthew do not work out logically. We were not able to disentangle the catastrophic conception from that view of the Kingdom which regards it as present and as maturing by a process of growth. We were forced back for reconstruction not to literary sources but to our Lord's consciousness.

Those reconstructions of our Lord's consciousness which have sought for logical consistency have done so principally by violent treatment of the records, or by ignoring elements unfavourable to their reconstructions.

The only thorough-going modern attempt to explain the consciousness of our Lord from a purely apocalyptic point of view is that of Schweitzer in his well known book *The Quest of the Historical Jesus.* To be quite clear upon this matter it will be necessary to give some account of this remarkable theory (Pace Charles).

OUTLINE OF SCHWEITZER'S THEORY

The theory or plot revolves round " The Messianic Secret " and it is worked out with the precision of a thrilling novel. He takes up the concise points of our Lord's life, and unlike Mr. George Moore in his book *The Brook Kerith,* brings to bear on his

subject a scholarship and critical acumen of a very high order.

(*i.*) *Baptism.*—John tells the multitudes ὁ ἐρχόμενος is near and the kingdom is at hand. At the baptism John points to Christ as ὁ ἐρχόμενος. When he saw Christ he recognised him, as the forerunner and not as ὁ Χριστός. But on the other hand at His baptism our Lord conceived the conviction that He was ὁ Χριστός, and that His life-work was to bring about the apocalyptic pictures of Esdras. *This is the Messianic Secret.*

(*ii*) *His handling of the Ethical question and the Sermon on the Mount.*

Schweitzer treats the whole of the ethical teaching of "The Sermon" as "Interims-Ethik." Its moral precepts were related only to the life of the sons of the Kingdom until the Parousia.

(*iii.*) He then takes up the crisis described in Matthew x. and xi.

THE MISSION OF THE TWELVE

Matthew's account differs from Mark and Luke in the mention of the πειρασμός. The reason of this mission is connected with "The Messianic Secret."

> "Ye shall not have gone over the cities of Israel until the Son of Man be come."

(*a*) Schweitzer points out that in Luke and Mark the Mission of the Twelve did not represent any persecution. No hint of persecution is found in them. Matthew, according to Schweitzer, preserves the true account which had mentioned the *πειρασμός*. Why did it drop out of Mark and Luke? Because the persecution predicted in Matthew never happened and so Mark and Luke, wishing to avoid the appearance of unfulfilled prophecy, dropped the *πειρασμός*.

(*b*) This implies the *Messianic Secret*. By the mission of the Twelve, Schweitzer thinks that Christ imagined the time was ripe. He therefore determined to bring about the Kingdom. He hoped that persecution would arise and the people be stirred up to revolt. In fact he expected the signs in Esdras to come to pass. The fields are ready for harvest, the time is ripe, and so he sends out the twelve to kindle the conflagration which shall produce the Messianic *πειρασμός*. And before the finish of this mission he thinks the Son of Man will have come, the Danielic picture will have been fulfilled. He speaks in the third person so as to keep His secret; the disciples therefore did not know he meant Himself by the title "The Son of Man," This title is one of the hints of the Messianic secret.

Matthew xi.

While the twelve are absent John the Baptist sends his message from the prison: "Art thou *ὁ ἐρχόμενος* as I thought or am I mistaken?" Our Lord's answer is very important.

He thinks John means art thou *Elias*? He did not wish to say He was " The Christ " until He had been manifested. So He sends a cryptic answer : " Blessed is He that shall not be offended in Me."

The twelve return; nothing happens; no πειρασμός everything has gone well. *He is profoundly disappointed.* He regards the smoothness as failure. He had hoped for a conflagration. He thinks the failure is due to the wrong policy of trying to bring about the Parousia in Galilee. Hence " Woe unto thee Chorazin ! "

He is now faced with *failure.* He therefore adopts a new line of policy. He determines to go up to Jerusalem. He recognises that this will probably mean death. He becomes convinced that the Resurrection is the great sign that will usher in the παρουσία. It is therefore necessary to let *some* of the disciples into the secret and for that purpose He selected three—Peter, James and John. The transfiguration takes place. Schweitzer sees in this a symbolic representation of the transformation of policy and supposes that we have a later and materialised account as in the case of " The Temptation." All that really took place was a revelation of the Secret.

The disciples naturally ask, in view of the tenet about the forerunner. " How can you be the Christ since Elias has not yet come ? " He removes that difficulty by pointing out that Elias has already come in the person of John the Baptist. They immediately accept Jesus as " The Christ " and He

strictly charges them *to tell no man till the Son of Man be risen from the dead.*

Peter's confession.

When Peter made his famous "confession" our Lord was questioning to find out whether there was any leakage of the "Messianic Secret." He had no intention of extracting a confession. But Peter gave the whole secret away and so Christ rebuked this breach of His injunctions. Peter's confession was indirectly the cause of the death of Christ. For Judas heard it as well as the rest of the twelve.

The Passover Week.

(*i.*) *Entry into Jerusalem.* All the commentators have failed to explain how one day the crowds call "Hosannah," and within a week "Crucify." Schweitzer says there is something more than plebian fickleness in this. His theory is that the people were not welcoming Christ as Messiah but as ὁ ἐρχόμενος, *i.e.*, Elias. The priests could not lay hands upon Him because the people reckoned Him to be Elias the prophet. Our Lord was receiving homage as the Messiah but the multitude were offering it as to Elias.

(*ii.*) The records of Holy Week that Christ was attempting to force the hands of the authorities. Our Lord does everything to provoke them to put Him to death, except to tell them who He really is, *i.e.*, to tell them "The Messianic Secret." They will not put Him to death in spite of His provocations. He is trying to force them; they will not be forced. There is therefore a deadlock.

This is solved by Judas. How was it that the information which he gave caused such joy to the chief priests, so that they gave thirty pieces of silver, enough to buy a field, when they could have got anyone to swear for a penny, a day's wage? *Judas gave them the information that he had received from Peter's* confession, namely, that Jesus was the Messiah.

The action of the priests. Now they are in deadly fear that, when the people know, there will be a rising against the Romans. They arrange everything in haste intending to condemn Him before Caiaphas and get Pilate to ratify the sentence. In this manner they hope to get rid of Jesus before the people know who He is and raise the Messianic cry which will bring the Romans down on their heads. What actually happens is a hitch: there are no witnesses. They cannot use Judas, His own disciple. Precious time is passing, so Caipahas takes the unusual course of abjuring Him. Jesus confesses He is Messiah. Now they go again to Pilate who had already understood that they were trying to put on *him* the onus of what might turn out to be a very unpopular death. So Pilate himself arranges that the people shall know. The chief priests now in utter despair adopt a bold course. They tell the people that our Lord has deceived them—that He is not Elias but is secretly teaching that He is the actual Messiah. The people are enraged and join the priests in demanding His execution. Pilate now no longer hesitates. Christ is crucified. The second

attempt to bring about the Kingdom ends in an exceedingly mighty cry of disappointment—a broken heart.

This theory presents many attractive features, especially in the exegesis of difficult sayings of Christ; but it lies open to criticism that seems fatal to any acceptance of it as a satisfactory reconstruction of our Lord's human consciousness. The most important points of criticism are:

I. The meaning of the Temptation in our Lord's consciousness. This clearly points to the fact that at a psychological crisis at the beginning of His ministry, our Lord decided to adopt a line of action wholly contrary to the current idea of the Messiah's appearance. This point was made long ago by Professor Seeley. Schweitzer, it is true denies the existence of a political conception of the Messiah in the popular apocalyptic of Christ's time. It should be noted, however, that this denial is unjustifiable, for in the "Psalms of Solomon," there is a political idea. But even if Schweitzer's claims were allowed, his whole description of our Lord's actions conflicts entirely with the line of action adopted at the Temptation. Schweitzer represents our Lord adopting with eager haste first one line of action and then another when the first had failed, seeking to force history into the mould of His own apocalyptic expectations. In the Temptation and in the subsequent history we see rather One who had so entirely entrusted everything to the Father whose Kingdom He was

working to bring about that He accepted failure (or perhaps we ought to say He does not accept the world's estimate of success), such as is represented in Matthew xi. 25–30, with thanksgiving: "I thank Thee, O Father, Lord of Heaven and Earth, that Thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed them unto babes, even so, Father, for so it seemed good in thy sight." The consciousness into which this saying, accepted as authentic by nearly all New Testament critics, gives us a rare glimpse, is not the stormy consciousness depicted by Schweitzer. Its fundamental principle is different.

This fundamental principle is so essentially illuminative of the consciousness of Christ that it is important to notice that Matthew xi. 25–30 is psychologically related to the inwardness of the Matthaean account of the temptation.

Much misunderstanding of this question might have been avoided had it been boldly faced. It should be understood as a symbolical statement of a real psychical experience or series of experiences. The prophetic נאם יהוה through which our Lord passed soon after His baptism.

It will be remembered that Professor Seeley wrote :—

> "Such then is the story of Christ's temptation. It rests indeed on no very strong external evidence, and there may be exaggeration in its detail, but in its substance it can scarcely be other than true. First because it is so much stranger than fact, and next because

its strangeness is so nicely adapted to the character of Christ "—*i.e.*, the Lamb of God.

But there is another reason which goes further than these two in as much as it not only points to the reality of the temptations, but shows that the account is *Christ's own description of His own psychological experiences.*

In order to make this clear it is necessary to touch upon an important critical question, which affects the view put forward here, as to the sequence of events.

In Matthew the order of the Temptation is :—(1) Stones to Bread. (2) Pinnacle of the Temple. (3) Exceeding high mountain.

In Luke :—(1) Stones to Bread. (2) Exceeding high mountain. (3) Pinnacle of the Temple.

Canon Streeter has argued that the Lucian is the right order on the ground that the treatment of " Q " by Matthew and Luke leads to this conclusion. He points out that while Luke adheres closely to the order of Mark but modifies the language, Matthew deviates freely from the order but keeps most clearly to the words. He concludes that Luke preserves the order of Q while Matthew preserves the wording. But we have nothing to guarantee that the sayings of Q are recorded in any order. Further *the psychological sequence is conclusive for the Matthaean order.* For the account of the Temptations must either have come from Christ Himself or been invented. The latter alternative is put out of court by the very nature of the circumstances. Judging from all analogy

the apocryphal element would certainly intensify the Divine side. But these accounts clearly regard the Messiah as capable of being tempted. Hence we are justified in supposing that they are not apocryphal but do in truth represent our Lord's own account of His experience. These Temptations are connected directly with the Messiah's baptism and are a symbolic representation of that inevitable spiritual reaction which followed the work of the Spirit on that occasion. They were temptations *to doubt* the validity of that experience voiced from heaven: "This is my beloved Son in whom I have well-pleasing" (*ἐυδοκία*).

It should be noted that "If Thou be the Son of God" is not a mere repetition. It is a double link with the Father's declaration at the Son's Baptism —"This is my beloved Son in whom I am well pleased." Christ takes His stand upon the validity of that spiritual experience *for Himself.* "Man shall not live by bread alone but by every word proceeding out of the *mouth of God—i.e.,* the mouth from which the voice came at Baptism, assuring him of his divine sonship; and *for others*—"if Thou be the Son of God cast Thyself down," that is into the Temple court where the assembled nation may receive the divine sign of the Kingdom. *You* may be ready to stake everything on this spiritual experience of yours, but they to whom you are going, Israel filled with her apocalyptic dreams and Rome with her imperial ambitions, *they* will not accept your assurance. Give them the

sign from heaven and unveil the mystery of the kingdom. Your view may be true for yourself but is it true for others? Yes! He was willing to leave it to God to reveal the secret to others as He had revealed it to Him. He decided to trust God to bring in the Kingdom for others as He had already brought it in for Himself.

But having decided this, the Holy Spirit having spoken within Him, He is faced with the final trial. How can you expect Rome to crumble before this spiritual dynamic? Are you aware of the consequences to yourself and your followers if you choose such a line of action? Yes! He understands. It will probably mean a Roman Cross.

But it would mean the birth of an idea which should operate for ever against the self-regarding motives of human nature and set up a symbol of sovereignty which the world should desire to obey. This was the notion of sovereignty set up by Jesus Christ. It was not another sovereignty similar to that claimed before and since (ἄλλος) but absolute sovereignty neither dreamed of before nor practised since (ἕτερος)

II. The question of Our Lord's ethical teaching raises serious difficulties. It is impossible to resolve all the teaching of Christ into "Interims-Ethik" and to explain it all by the apocalyptic sense of the nearness of the new age and the speedy passing away of the present one. Canon Streeter has stated the point excellently—"The Historic Christ" in *Foundations* pp. 109–110—"Two main

reasons seem to preclude this interpretation. Firstly, the approaching end of the World is not as a matter of fact adduced as a motive in the case of many of the most startling of these precepts. . . 'Love your enemies' is commanded, not because the time is too short for petty squabbles, but 'That ye may be the sons of your Father which is in Heaven, for He maketh His sun to rise on the evil and the good, and sendeth rain on the just and the unjust.' But a further consideration arising even more from the very heart of the matter is this. Every word and act of Our Lord makes it clear that His enthusiasm was not a mere emotional sentiment, neither was it a mere academic criterion for discriminating between the essential and non-essential elements in traditional morality. It was a consuming passion for service, that passion which dedicates whosoever is inflamed therewith to a life of renunciation, conflict, and reproach, and which demands the absolute sacrifice and surrender of all that would hinder devotion to the cause."

We cannot get round the ethical teaching of Christ by the expediency of "interims-ethik," nor can we say that the Sermon on the Mount was intended merely as an ideal code impracticable for every-day life and only capable of being lived in a future heavenly state.

For it is clearly designed to be lived out *now* in the present world, in as much as whenever the Kingdom should have fully come there will not be such people as murderers, thieves, and hypocrites,

nor such practices as adultery, assault, and extortion. In the event of a complete coming of the Kingdom of God the sermon code would automatically become obsolete and so abrogated. God would have become everything to all men.

It is important to emphasise, perhaps never so important as now, that an investigation into the modern critical theories of eschatology leaves undiminished and unqualified the Sermon on the Mount as the expression of the moral consciousness of Jesus. In the stress of to-day we may be deflected from its lofty standards, but its fundamental principle stands firm as to what is the Highest Good, what is the measure of divine righteousness (δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ), and what is the duty of man. It is an Interims-Ethik but it is extracted from the world of reality and is therefore eternal. It is a paradox.

So that Schweitzer, as we think, is wrong when he says " It is quite mistaken, however, to speak as modern theology does of the ' Service ' here required as belonging to the ' new ethic of the Kingdom of God.' "

There are many points which might be criticised in Schweitzer's scheme (*cf.* Emmett's *The Eschatological Question in the Gospels*), but it is sufficient for our purpose to establish the point that *while recognising Apocalyptic as part of our Lord's environment and as entering into His own consciousness it is nevertheless impossible to explain Him and His life wholly by Apocalyptic.* His teaching is not overwhelmingly apocalyptical.

It is paradoxical and hyperbolical as all oriental teaching tends to be. But it is not lop-sided. A deep synthesis embraces the whole. It has an eternal equipoise about it not to be found elsewhere. It takes a synoptic view of the world of reality.

III. Hence we are left with the final point under this head, the necessity of giving some account of our Lord's relation to eschatological thought and in particular to the apocalyptic of His own time. (*a*) The main point is that *no reconstruction has succeeded in explaining our Lord's life and consciousness by means of a single dominant idea.* Fidelity to the records which are our only source of direct information compels us to admit that we find our Lord's teaching and possibly His actions largely determined by an apocalyptic view of the world. We are equally compelled to recognise in the records a profoundly ethical attitude towards ideals of conduct. The character of God as Father is the measure of righteousness, the righteousness which alone fits for entry into the Kingdom. Those who do the will of the Father (Matthew vii. 21) those who are persecuted for righteousness' sake (Matthew v. 10) the poor in spirit, (Matthew v, 3) those who become as little children, such are the heirs of the kingdom, they enter into it, (Matthew vii. 21) and it is even theirs already (Matthew v. 10). Such a point of view is plainly not shaped by apocalyptic consideration, nor are such ethics to be described as mere "interims-ethik," nor can they be circumvented by any other means. Moreover, when we place these two factors in our

Lord's teaching and consciousness side by side, the ethical factor derived from a sense of nearness to God and knowledge of God transcending that of any saint or prophet of old at once appears to be the deeper and more fundamental element in our Lord's consciousness.

(*b*) We are further faced with the problem that much of our Lord's apocalyptic expectation, if we accept the picture of it in the Synoptists as given by Canon Streeter or by Schweitzer as truly His, was not fulfilled in the form in which He expected it. In that case we should have to admit that Christ states His own limitations of knowledge with respect to the time of fulfilment. For, while apparently expecting the near approach of the *πειρασμός* and subsequent catastrophic manifestation of the kingdom, He speaks of it rather with the eagerness of human hope than the certainty of divine knowledge.

"Of that day and that hour knoweth no man, no, not the angels which are in heaven, neither the Son, but the Father." (Mark xiii. 32).

But the real problem is bared to us by the consideration of such passages as Mark ix. 1; Matthew xvi. 28, Luke xix. 27. This has been called "the crux of the eschatological problem." Mark ix. 1.

Verily I say unto you that there be some of them that stand here, which shall not taste of death, till they have seen the Kingdom of God come with power—"come permanently with power." *ἐληλυθυῖαν ἐν δυνάμει*, Matthew xvi. 28, "The Son of

Man coming in His Kingdom." Luke xix, 27. "Till they see the Kingdom of God."

(*a*) These parallels may conceivably mean no more than that some of the bystanders would live to see the Kingdom's gradual development. Luke's passage is much the same as Mark's, while Matthew's seems to speak of a swiftly coming Apocalypse of Christ as Judge. So that the explanation may be quite a simple one, namely, that the saying was literally fulfilled, that some standing there did see the fruition of the Christian Mission.

(*b*) But further Mark ix. 1, might conceivably be understood as literally referring to Pentecost, and in that case the other parallels would be covered by the fact of the Coming of the Holy Ghost and the birth of the Church.

(*c*) Dale's explanation is not without significance, that the Second Advent did actually take place in the invisible world in A.D. 70, that, Christ's angels are now gathering His elect from the four winds of heaven, that the blessed dead are not waiting for a final catastrophe nor the unrighteous for a final judgment.

(*d*) We ought also to note in Matthew xxvi. 64 ἀπ' ἄρτι where much the same imagery is used. It looks as though the "coming in the clouds" is a figure for that slow growth of the βασιλεία which was to be seen from that hour onwards. Mark xiv. 62 omits ἀπ' ἄρτι, so that here Matthew modifies the language rather in the direction of suggesting the idea of growth. It is to be noticed

also that Luke xxii. 6 has the ἀπ' ἄρτι, but does not suggest an apocalyptic vision before human eyes at all, but only Christ's exaltation in Heaven. So we cannot conclude that the three passages, Mark ix. 1, Matthew xvi. 28, Luke xix. 27, substantiate Canon Streeter's view. Our conclusion may be stated in the words of the late Professor H. B. Swete which he was good enough to address to the present writer on this point :—

Extract

"I cannot think that our Lord's apocalyptic expectation was not fulfilled in the form in which he expected it, that is to assert not simply the limitation of His knowledge, but the fallibility of His teaching—surely a very different thing. And nothing that I have read convinces me that such a concession to the unbeliver is necessary."

Looking over the history of the Christian centuries it is not too much to say that whenever Christendom as a whole has with a deliberate conscious judgment departed from the ethic revealed by Jesus Christ the result has been a catastrophic coming. The sanction of the sovereignty of Christ has been manifested in the affairs of men. It is not enforcible by an human constitution. It is enforcible simply by "The Nature of Things" in relation to "The Nature of God." As Jesus Christ is thus demonstrated to be the real one ἀληθινός who alone did the Will of God, it is through His sovereignty alone that the World of Reality is expressed.

The thing which holds in check the sovereignty of God is sin. But sin is seen to contain within itself the seeds of its own destruction; it always contains some degree of ignorance; it cannot continue permanently within the developing processes of human nature.

Progress has always been achieved by experiment and experiment always carries with it the possibility of failure as well as the probability of success. Man has risen by struggle, but the possibility or even the reality of failure has always left open a path of escape. And the widespread sense of the forgiveness of sins, through Jesus Christ our Lord, is not only a testimony to past and present failures but of the ultimate sovereignty of God over the wills of men. This will be complete when and only when man's judgment upon sin coincides in all particulars with God's estimate of it. Then His Will will be done in earth and Heaven and His Kingdom will have permanently come with Power.

Pauline Eschatology. Ephesians i. 9–14.

The early epistles. 1 and 2 Thessalonians

When we tackle the question of the evolution of thought in the Epistles of St. Paul we are at once conscious of a similar difficulty to that which faced us in the synoptic gospels. Q was seen to be an indeterminate quantity. Floating apocalyptic tradition proves no less illusive. When embedded in St. Paul's letters we find added difficulties. We may be able to fix with some certainty the chrono-

logical sequence of St. Paul's epistles, but it is almost impossible to say why certain features appear while others we should have expected to find are not present. We cannot say that these were not in St. Paul's thought at this or that time because they are absent from this or that epistle. They may be purposely omitted as irrelevant to the matter in hand or they may have been the ABC of Christian tradition needing no special mention. For this reason there must be a large element of uncertainty in the conclusions to which we seem logically drawn. Thus Salmond (D.B. 755 Eschatology) says that in the four groups of Pauline Epistles "differences do not imply any essential change of view and do not appear to go beyond what finds its explanation in differences of circumstance, occasion, and circle of readers." However we do not accept here this view in its entirety. We contend that there is in St. Paul's letters an "essential change of view." For in the Thessalonian Epistles it does appear that we have a very full apocalyptic in the background while vivid eschatological traits strike the eye at every turn. Thus before the Parousia there must be the Apostasy. Lawlessness is working and "the Man of Sin" will appear. There is a check and a checker which will be removed. The Thessalonians understand to what the Apostle refers. "The Man of Sin" will deceive men and be slain at the Parousia. Therefore it is quite clear that nothing St. Paul has in mind lies on the distant horizon. He hopes to see the Parousia

himself. His style is enigmatical to us, but the people to whom he was writing understood, and speech was perilous. We may gather that he is referring to the Empire, for we may recall that Josephus uses the same reserve not thinking it " proper to explain " the Stone that is to destroy the Image (Antt. x., iv. 4).

What was the situation ? Did St. Paul conclude from current indications and from Daniel that the Empire would speedily fall ? There had been other expectations of this for we find Horace asking :

> " On what God shall the people call
> To stay the warning empire's fall,
> With what prayer shall the Virgin choir
> Deaf Vesta tire ? "

If this happened would there not be a sudden removal of the mechanism of Roman restraint ? Would this not result in a great outburst of lawlessness under leaders personified as " The Man of Sin ? " Would even " the elect " be dragged into this, whether Jews or Gentiles ? It seems as if St. Paul has this definite conviction. The political situation of the moment and the internal condition of the Empire would be thoroughly well known both to Paul the much-travelled Roman citizen and to the Thessalonians. What was that condition ? The century was efflorescent. Roman civilisation was in full bloom for two centuries. It had been seven centuries growing. It came to a catastrophic end as St. Paul thought it would. But he antedated the finale. He seems to have anticipated a collapse of society together with a catastrophic

Parousia putting an end to the chaos ensuing. It is not unlikely that he looked upon Claudius as ὁ κατέχων and, bad as Nero was, St. Paul seems to have seen in him the power that was holding the world together and therefore the necessary precedent to the Parousia. But he was mistaken only in time not in fact. If these conclusions are correct we may find the explanation of the Apostle's modified outlook which is to be observed in the central and later epistles, in the simple fact that changes in Roman Welt-politik did happen without bringing the cataclysm which had seemed to him inevitable. But for our purpose it is needful to ask whether this apocalyptic has parallels in Daniel, Exodus, Baruch, and Enoch for in that case we might conceivably suppose that St. Paul is not interpreting current events but that his early teaching was in reality Jewish apocalyptic in a Christianised garb.

We may ask then whether the outstanding features, to wit the ἀποστασία Persecution, Antichrist, Messiah, and Rapture, can be found in these Jewish eschatological books.

(*a*) We find that Antichrist and Apostasy are wanting in them all. (*b*) The Messiah in the Thessalonians slays his foes. The Man of Sin is slain by the breath of his mouth. There are striking parallels to this in the Jewish books. The Messiah of Esdras flies on the clouds and destroys foes by a flood of fire from his mouth. So also in Enoch 37–71. In Baruch, chapter iii, Messiah judges men and slays some. The idea is,

however, peculiar to this group of books, except that in Baruch, chapter cc, he is a military leader slaying his foes, which is a rather different notion of Him. Most of the Apocalypses omit him or give him no rôle. So it would seem to follow that St. Paul could only have been influenced by Daniel or Enoch 37–71 of any now extant writings, and we may perhaps justly conclude that the key is to be found far more with the actual political and world events taking place than with the apocalyptic dreams of a former age. But it is at any rate clear that, whatever this immediate historical position may have been, he clothed his teaching about it in eschatological language, borrowed from that apocalyptic literature which appears as part of the background of the Gospels and was evidently used in the Early Church for the unfolding of Christian expectations. A genuine belief in the prognostications of apocalyptic seems to have been intertwined with contemporary events, but early Christian tradition used by St. Paul certainly contained ideas which were not Jewish. There is no precedent, for instance, in apocalyptic or Daniel for the doctrine of " The Rapture," and the belief that the Resurrection would coincide with Messiah's Parousia is also new. This leads us to enquire as to the dependence of St. Paul not only upon Jewish apocalyptic, but upon that body of floating eschatological teaching which is reflected in the synoptists themselves. There we find the false Christs, the πειρασμός, the cooling of the love of many (Matthew xxiv. 12) the gathering of the elect,

that is "The Rapture." Most of the features of St. Paul's Apocalyptic except the *κατέχων* and the Resurrection of the dead in Christ at the Parousia are in the synoptists, though it is to be observed that the *ψευδοχριστόι* are not quite the same as "The Man of Sin." If however the Man of Sin or Antichrist be understood as the personification of evil forces merely and not, as seems more probable, an actual Man, then Apocalyptic is of course intensely conscious of these.

But even if it be admitted that St. Paul's teaching is related dependently to the mid-stream of early Christian apocalyptic teaching, from which both he and the Synoptists drew, yet it is clear that it has elements of its own not found in the Gospels, Daniel or Jewish Apocalyptic, namely these three :—

(1) The idea of the checker.

(2) The association of the Resurrection and Christ's Advent.

(3) The Man of Sin if he is an indivudal.

We conclude therefore that on the real background of world events, which St. Paul had interpreted and was still interpreting to the Thessalonians, there is superimposed two elements. Firstly the outlines of the current Jewish Apocalyptic and secondly the working of a new element in St. Paul's thought which leads him away from purely Jewish Apocalyptic.

Upon what then did he base his conclusions ?

(*a*) He expressly states that he did so upon a logion. *λόγιον κυριακόν*. But what

does this phrase mean? Pauline analogy would seem to indicate not a special revelation but the apostolic tradition of our Lord's teaching with which we know that he was familiar (1 Cor. xi, 20). It is not easy to point to a definite logion, but possibly behind the teaching of John xiv. 1–5 there lies a logion upon which such a view of the Parousia might be based.

(*b*) Undoubtedly St. Paul linked the whole eschatological question to the experience and the teaching of our Lord. At the Parousia the living believers would be transformed, and the dead raised, and all together "caught up" to meet the Lord in the air, to be for ever with Him. And however much his world view changes in the subsequent epistles, after the world problem facing him had solved itself, he never departs from this position. There is to the end a nexus between the facts of Christ's life and the developed position of his later Epistles. In these later Epistles his view widened out but in Phil. i. 10 and ii. 17 he still thinks of "the day of Christ," in iii. 11 of the Resurrection and in iii. 21 of the "glorified body."

On the whole it would appear that the idea of a cataclysmic close to history in an objective appearing of Christ never vanished out of his mind, though he may have come to think of it as only to happen after a slow outworking of the effects of the Gospel. That is St. Paul's early eschatological hopes grew. Though they were all through linked to the facts of Christ's life as depicted by Christian tradition

and coloured by Christian apocalyptic, nevertheless they took on a special Pauline element due to his interpretation of the tendencies of Roman civilisation.

II

When we pass to the two Corinthian epistles, where we find most of the eschatological material for the second period, the working out of the special Pauline development becomes clearer.

The principal interest in the 15th of 1 Cor. is the drawing out of the consequences of the resurrection of Christ. The theory of a "spiritual body" appears, based on St. Paul's view of the nature of our Lord's form of existence after resurrection. This theory is extended to believers, and more fully worked out in 2 Cor. 5. St. Paul distinguishes between being "unclothed" and "clothed upon" and prefers rather to be "clothed upon," that is, to be alive at the "rapture" of 1 Thess. 4. The intermediate or "unclothed" state is no more desirable than the present state of sojourn in a tabernacle whose incubus of flesh causes the groanings of desire for the more glorious house which is from heaven.

But side by side with this "spiritual" development of the eschatology of the individual there is also a change in the Apostle's world view. In his brief outline in 1 Cor. 15 the consummation is "that God may be all in all." It is no longer wholly clear that the Kingdom is on earth, and

it is certainly only temporary. The process is regarded as commencing with the resurrection of Christ, the first decisive pledge and guarantee of victory over death, and continuing until the power of death is finally broken.

The conventional features, so much in evidence in Thessalonians, have fallen into the background. The whole view has expanded and become less definite in details. We can see the idea of a process gradually ousting the idea of a catastrophic finale, and the eschatology of the individual tends to fall apart from the eschatology of the world process.

When we read the epistles of the captivity the separation seems still more complete and the older apocalyptic imagery seems almost to have disappeared. For the individual the dominant idea is the complete victory of Christ over death, involving the metamorphosis of these " bodies of humiliation " into the likeness of His own " body of glory." This is the individual aspect of the Parousia, and is still an essential part of St. Paul's hope, even though he has now (in the Philippian epistle) given up the expectation of the Parousia in his lifetime, and contemplates death with desire, " having the desire to depart and be with Christ," in contrast to 2 Cor. 5, where the desire is " not that we may be unclothed but clothed upon with our house which is from heaven." On the other hand while the material and indivudal part of the hope has been so largely spiritualised and no longer occupies a great part of the eschatological canvas, the world-view, the conception of a great

plan of God unfolding itself slowly to completion and involving vaster issues than St. Paul had dreamed of at first, has widened out immensely, and is sketched in majestic outline in the passage selected to illustrate this part of our subject. It supplied Irenaeus with that fruitful conception of "recapitulatio," the thought of the ἀνακεφαλαίωσις or summing-up of all things, celestial and terrestrial in Christ. This thought is finely expressed by Mr. Rawlinson in his Essay on "The Interpretation of the Christ" in *Foundations*. "He sees in the Christ, whose he is and whom he serves, the secret of that increasing purpose which runs throughout the ages, the supreme end and goal to which the whole creation moves. The world as we know it is not the world as it shall become. Humanity as we now know it is not the humanity that shall one day be. Imperfect, partial, divided, unbalanced, and untempered as it now is, mankind is yet in process of being completed and perfected into One, and the Christ, who all in all is being fulfilled, though He stands already in His own divine-human nature, perfect and complete in Jesus of Nazareth, waits, at the consummation of history, until all men have grown up into His ideal and come into realized oneness with His person, "until we all attain unto the unity of the faith and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a full-grown man, unto the measure of the stature of the completion of the Christ." The Christ that is to be, the unity of the New Man full-grown—that is to be the goal of Christian striving, and the promise

of it standeth fast like the strong mountains. The Apostle, who for his own part "counts not himself to have apprehended," strives still towards the mark, for the prize of that high calling, and with Christians then and since "yearns for the sign" of Christ's fulfilling, and "faints for the flaming of His advent Feet."

(*b*) Thus we trace in the development of Pauline eschatology the impulse of the true inwardness of our Lord's own steadfast faith, an impulse which with the coming of the Spirit has widened and deepened and burst through the ancient forms of Jewish apocalyptic, retaining their intense conviction that the Kingdom of God was the ultimate goal of all, but expressing that conviction in deeper and more universal form.

JOHANNINE ESCHATOLOGY. I JOHN III. 1–3

(*a*) We pass now to the last division of our subject. It is necessary to deal with certain preliminary questions of criticism. From the point of view of our enquiry the most difficult question is the relation of the apocalypse to the other Johannine writings. It is certainly extremely difficult to reconcile the eschatology of the apocalypse with that of the First Epistle of John. The two obvious alternatives, not wholly satisfactory are :—

1. On the supposition that both Apocalypse and Epistle are by the same author the former must be dated very early, under Nero, and the latter

at the end of the first century, to allow time for a sufficient development. But there are grave difficulties in the way to the Neronic date, and the best critical opinion dates the Apocalypse under Domitian, bringing the book down to the close of the century. Hence this solution is not satisfactory.

2. The expedient of separating the authorship of the Apocalypse from that of the Gospel and Epistle. This also has difficulties, owing to the many striking points of resemblance between the fourth Gospel of the Apocalypse, in spite of great stylistic differences.

On the whole the latter alternative is perhaps to be preferred, unless we are prepared to admit that the Domitianic date of the Apocalypse still allows sufficient time for the change of outlook represented by the Epistle, or again unless we are able to find an underlying unity of thought in the two books in spite of their immense outward difference. There is sufficiently good critical authority to allow of our adopting the second of the two alternatives proposed, at any rate provisionally, for the purposes of this enquiry. The question of the authorship does not alter the fact that the passage selected from the First Epistle of St. John for exposition illustrates an attitude towards the eschatological expectation which goes beyond anything yet examined.

(*b*) Professor Scott in his book on the Fourth Gospel has suggested that in the questionings of the disciples about the "little while" in John xvi. 17, 18, we may find the reflection of question-

ings that had arisen at the close of the first century concerning the delay of the Parousia. He suggests that the answers given by our Lord are intended to convey a threefold correction of false impressions arising out of current apocalyptic ideas.

1. That instead of a long period of waiting, reunion is to be immediate, as the Ascension succeeds to the Passion. The spiritual reunion will never again be broken.

2. That instead of a return in a visible body, the return they were to expect was a spiritual indwelling, the inward revelation of Christ to the believer, " I will love him and manifest Myself unto him."

3. " Against the popular conception of an outward Parousia in which Christ would gather His disciples into His place of glory, the evangelist sets a deeper and more spiritual conception. Those who love Christ and believe in Him are reunited with Him already. He has come back for them and taken them to dwell in heavenly places with Himself."

It is probable that this statement of the Johannine point of view may require some adjustment, as the very existence and date of the Apocalypse suggests. We may not banish apocalyptic so wholly and decisively as yet. Nevertheless the statement, in spite of over emphasis, lays stress on the main conception of the Johannine writings. " The Eternal Life " is the central thought, come from the Father, imparted to believers, and bringing them into ever increasing likeness to the

Father and to the Son. It is to be noticed that in the passage selected there is no break in the connection of the thought, which is carried on from the second chapter. The thought is that the proof of the relationship is identity of moral character. Knowing that God is righteous we are able to distinguish His children, those begotten of Him, by the possession of the same character, involving of course possession of the same life, eternal life.

Then, after drawing attention to the love that has given us a share in its own life, the writer points out that this life is not recognised in us by the world any more than it was in Christ. Yet he believes that the manifestation of Christ, who is not distinguished here from the Father (the logical subject of φανερωθῇ is ὁ πατήρ, 1 John iii. 1–2) is a moral necessity. He does not explain whether the manifestation is a spiritual or a material one, but says that if Christ is manifested we must be manifested too, as being like Him and so like the Father. This is "the hope in Him," it is a real hope as other contexts in the Epistle show, and not merely a realization of an event that has already taken place, but how far removed in form and expression from the hope of the Thessalonian Epistles. Its central feature is the manifestation of God's moral character in Christ and all His children.

It is true that Professor Scott does not think that the Epistle is by the same author as the Gospel, but he admits that it "bears the impress of the same school of thought, and is meant to

unfold and emphasise the same message." Hence we can justly use the eschatological doctrine of the Epistle to illustrate and supplement that of the Gospel. It is clear from the Epistle that the Parousia is still regarded as a hope, although the hope has become almost wholly ethical and spiritual. Nevertheless a real return of Christ is the object of hope, and we cannot truly say that the thought of Eternal life has taken the place of the Parousia. The true estimate of the position seems to be that a moral change has come to be recognised as infinitely more wonderful and essential than a physical change, and this change is the result of the possession and out-working of Eternal Life. By it we dwell in God and God dwells in us. For St. Paul the physical change is a consequence of the moral change, and for him Christ has the claim to the believer's spirit, soul and body. He prays that spirit, soul, and body may be preserved entire for the Parouisa. He cannot conceive of the claim to the body being given up by Christ, even though this thought falls into a secondary place beside the great thought of the *recapitulatio*. But for the author of the Epistle of John, while he is no Docetist, the distinction between spirit and body does not seem very important. Perfect likeness to God obviously does not wholly depend on a body, and though the perfect manifestation of God's character on earth through Christ was very truly in flesh, yet the flesh of Christ is, so to speak, a passing phase in the process of full divine revelation, a necessary

phase whose reality he defends against Docetism and Gnosticism. Yet a knowledge of the real ἀληθινός God and Eternal Life does not now depend on the physical nature of the Divine manifestation, but on the spiritual. So that the central point of the hope is now the full manifestation of God's character in a world that did not know Christ when He was here. Whether that manifestation is to be in one dazzling sudden blaze of glory bursting on the world, or in a slow gradual dawn like sunrise through morning mists, the writer does not explain, perhaps he does not greatly trouble, and the matter is certainly no longer the essential thing in his hope. But it is a quiet steady certainty that Christ is coming, a conviction of the ultimate victory of faith, a world finally overcome, and God supreme.

EPILOGUE

A wounded race lies on its feverish couch. Will it arise, take up its bed and walk? If so by what power? By its own or by a power not its own? In his book *Our Social Heritage* Professor Graham Wallas has a chapter on "The Monarchy." In that chapter he opines that mankind is sufficiently advanced to face the truth. If we honestly face facts we are forced to make certain admissions.

(1) What used to pass for economic truth is seen, by closer analysis, to be "a false and sandy foundation."[1] We can no longer stake the welfare of the world *only* on economic theory. We should

[1] J. M. Keynes. *Economic Consequences of the Peace.*

beware, however, of making untrue statements about the validity of economic theory as a whole. The deep sanctions of economic theory remain untouched, in fact they are brilliantly justified by the World's misery.[1] But some assumptions of Economic theory were never true and are not more or less untrue to-day then they have ever been. "The Economic man" is a myth and the economic motive is seen to be a scale of infinite variation and degree.[2] "The Wage Fund" theory was never true. The Theory of Value was for many years full of flaws. Economic theory does not alone account for the past, nor does it by itself offer hope for the reconstruction of the stricken world, unless confidence can be first restored and trustfulness stabilised.[3] Credit means Faith and faith is fundamental. Here economic leads us right to the heart of morality and brings us face to face with the things of the spirit.

In the second place an honest thinker will have to confess that, in the realm of political science, theory and fact nowhere coincide. Everything is device, everywhere there is imperfect mechanism which needs perpetual tinkering. The political structure of the world is like a great cathedral upon which men are always engaged in the task of making good the erosion of time. Their objective materials partake of the quality and colour of the soil from which they have been extracted, but their

[1] Gregory. *The Exchanges Before, During and Since the War.*
[2] Tawney. *The Acquisitive Society.*
[3] Professor Pigou. *Pamphlet for The Brussels Conference.*

tools are made from the subjective ideas that arise in the mind of man.

Thus in the third place we are compelled to explore the science of ethics. Here again we find an imperfectly developed science which does not offer us a complete solution. We have not yet resolved the duality of experience, on the objective and subjective side, into a unity. We are but on the threshold of psychological science. There is a vast field here to be explored. In that field doubtless lies the treasure hidden and it may be worth all our material wealth to buy it. One thing is certain, namely, that no objective or materialistic theory of the Universe satisfies the facts of life. We are forced to dismiss economic, politic, and ethic as the rationale of existence.[1]

In the fourth place pure science, the body of knowledge laboriously built up by specialists in corners of the world of reality, has done little else but offer us *aspects* of that world of reality. Science has given us no synoptic view of that world as a whole. Its efforts to do so have confessedly resulted in failure.

[1] Professors William James, Eucken, Bergson, Einstein all express a thesis which is fatal to materialism. Whether it be the "stream" of James, the "struggle" of Eucken, "The Flux" of Bergson, or the "relativity" of Einstein, the consistent claim of all these modern thinkers is that the basic characteristic of the universe is not that of a fixed and predetermined system, but an eternal manifestation of flux or effort. The structure so confidently built up by Haeckel and the materialists is a house built in the wady. St. John and St. Paul are right when they use σχῆμα as opposed to μορφή and speak of the Cosmos as παράγεται already passing away.

An easy apocalyptic makes no appeal to our sense of progress. Doubtless there have been catastrophic elements in the evolutionary processes by which mankind has risen. Such elements are involved in Evolution. And probably the eschatology of Early Christianity may be regarded as a part of a "Weltanschauung"[1] rather than a prognostication of the future. If this be so we are faced once more, in the case of apocalyptic, with an *aspect* of the world of Reality.

"Is there—is there balm in Gilead?" Having regard to civlisation as we find it, of knowledge as we know it, of life as it is for us, is there no paradox which solves at once the unreal and the real, is there no principle which gives us a working hypothesis to exist by, and by its very operation in imperfection extracts from the world of Reality an ultimate of which we can be conscious and by which we can live? Mankind as he has developed has built his civilisation. It has become a heavy lopsided burden. If symmetry is attained it will still be onerous. We have made ourselves slaves in two senses. We must bear up this weight lest it crush us in millions.[2] We are at the same time parasitical upon it. Therefore unless men, and nations of men, will co-operate, divide labour, do their parts in different spheres, judge well, work together well, and live together well the whole

[1] *Cf.* Kirsopp Lake, *Earlier Epistles of St. Paul.*
[2] Graham Wallas. *Our Social Heritage.*

civilisation which both protects and feeds us will kill the race that has become dependent on it.[1]

Against this background stands the haunting figure of Jesus Christ, either the most mistaken or most real, the most defeated or most victorious, of all beings who ever breathed, thought and worked. Which? When he cries—"Come unto Me all ye that labour and are heavy laden and I will refresh you. Take My yoke upon you and learn of Me"—He does not promise relief from effort but a device, a yoke, that will make the labour and burden tolerable. This could only be the way if He is the Truth and the Life, not Truth and Life, but *The* Truth and *The* Life, of which all else is an aspect. Can it be after all that He is the scent of the cinnamon, the aroma of civilisation, that makes it possible to be heavy laden with its faggots and yet carry them down to the sea? And if so does that not give the final clue to the function of His

[1] As Mr. Lowes Dickinson points out in *The Choice before us*, and as Lord Robert Cecil has asserted over and over agan. War has ceased to be an effective arbitrament and unless we abolish it, it will abolish us. We cannot look to the ethics of war when International Law is disregarded as soon as war is declared. The ethics of materialism have as Flournoy has insisted in his *The Philosophy of William James* become absurd. "How continue to see a difference between good and evil, how have enthusiasm for the struggle, and how suffer for a cause or an ideal; why strive to behave nobly or try to better the world, if you admit that the course of the world is already predetermined to all eternity in the bosom of the 'primitive nebula' or of 'infinite substance.'" Yet as Eucken says in his *Present Day Ethics* an immoral world is becoming more and more 'intolerable.' We shall be driven not as Graham Wallas thinks to a book of sayings, a book by some new Laötze of Cathay, for our ethic, but back to Christ's ethic of The Kingdom to save the world from inner diminution, disintegration, and despair.

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Church. It is so to sweeten civilisation that mankind can bear it. That being the case we know that the Imperial Destiny of the Church of England can be nothing other than to sweeten and lighten that Imperial enterprise by which British Civilisation is being spread over the face of the earth.

"Du musst glauben, du musst wagen;
Denn die Götter leih'n kein Pfand;
Nur ein Wunder kann dich tragen
In das schöne Wunderland."

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